FBIS DAILY REPORT

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BCP DELEGATION TO SED CONGRESS RETURNS 16 APRIL

AU161911 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Text] The delegation of the BCP led by Comrade Ognyan Doynov, which took part in the 10th SED Congress, returned today from the GDR. At Sofia airport the delegation was greeted by Comrades Grisha Filipov and Dimitur Stanishev, and BCP Central Committee responsible aides.

ZHIVKOV SENDS GREETINGS TO HUSAK, AL-ASAD

Message to Husak

AU162028 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Apr 81 p 1

["Text" of greetings message from Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and State Council chairman, to Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee secretary general, on his reelection as CPCZ Central Committee secretary general]

[Text] Dear Comrade Husak, on behalf of the BCP Central Committee and myself, I send you most cordial greetings on your reelection as CPCZ Central Committee secretary general.

I wish you new and great successes in your highly responsible activity for implementing the decisions of the 16th CPCZ Congress and for further building the developed socialist society in the CSSR.

Let the fraternal friendship and cooperation between the BCP and the CPCZ and between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the CSSR, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, constantly strengthen and develop for the benefit of our two peoples, and the cause of socialism and peace.

Greetings to Syria's Al-Asad

AU162001 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Text] Sofia, 16 Apr (BTA)--Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general and president of the State Council of Bulgaria, sent a cable of greetings to Mr Hafiz al-Asad, secretary general of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party of Syria and president of Syria, with most cordial greetings on the occasion of the national day of Syria.

The message conveys most sincere and friendly wishes for new successes along the road of construction of the new society in Syria, in the struggle against the internal and external reaction, for further improving of the well-being of the friendly people of Syria.

Mr Zhivkov expressed confidence that the relations of friendship and fruitful cooperation existing between the two countries in the different spheres of life will continue to expand and deepen further to the benefit of the two friendly nations, in the interest of their joint struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, for the establishment of lasting and just peace in the Middle East, for the triumph of the cause of peace and understanding in the world.

On the same occasion Mr Stanko Todorov, prime minister of Bulgaria, sent a message of greetings to Mr 'Abd ar-Ra'uf Kasm, prime minister of Syria.

BRIEFS

NUCLEAR EQUIPMENT FOR USSR--The workers collective of the Nikola Vaptsarov scientific-production combine in Pleven has sent to the Soviet Union 130 tons more than planned of equipment for nuclear electric power stations in the Soviet Union. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 8 Apr 81 AU]

POLISH SOLIDARITY DEVELOPMENTS NOTED, CRITICIZED

Polish Farmers Union Agreement

LD171028 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0500 GMT 17 Apr 81

[Warsaw correspondent Frantisek Sojka report]

[Text] Talks between striking private farmers, occupying the United Peasants' People's Party building, and representatives of the government were resumed last night. The object of their talks is the demand of private farmers, backed by Solidarity and church circles, for permission to form a farmers' trade union organization.

Yesterday a group of people stormed a state building in (?Wroclaw) with the declaration that they were starting an occupation hunger strike. Twenty persons then went on a hunger strike. The action was organized in support of the striking farmers in Bydgoszcz. Precisely 1 week after the Sejm announced a 2-month suspension of strikes or the use of strike threats and stressed the need for the government and social and trade union organizations to respect the law, extremist forces in Poland again resumed their activities disturbing calm and order.

For the umpteenth time it has again become clear that antisocialist forces in Poland are prepared to respect negotiations and agreements as well as decisions by the highest representative bodies in the country only if they fit in with their intentions.

Katowice PZPR Official's Views

AU160922 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Apr 81 p 7

[Karol Mikulka, RUDE PRAVO special correspondent, interview with Jerzy Romanik, PZPR Central Committee candidate member: "Consistently Against Subversive Elements; The View of a Polish Miner"--date and place of the interview not given]

[Text] The meetings of party organizations in Polish enterprises and plants, discussing the conclusions of the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum, show that the situation in the country is still far from calm. An increasing number of voices draw attention to the worsening political and economic crisis that endangers the very foundations of socialism.

Jerzy Romanik, PZPR Central Committee candidate member, deputy chairman of the Congress Commission and leading miner of the Katowice basin, confided to us his concern about further developments in the Polish People's Republic.

[Question] What is the characteristic feature of the current party meetings?

[Answer] Voices differ greatly, but more and more frequently and emphatically they demand strengthening the party's leading role and call for a more active and more consistent course against all subversive elements. The confidence in the policy of the party has to be regained and its workers nucleus strengthened, and that confidence can be gained, above all, by example. We must much more courageously face all problems whose consequences plainly jeopardize further socialist development in our country. We must build a firm dam against manipulation of people from the side of those who incessantly speak about fatherland, but for whom the fatherland is wherever they can fill their pockets.

[Question] Do your fellow workers also think that way?

[Answer] Any sensible person must realize that when work is not being done, values are not being created and the crisis continues to deepen.

Our strikes, especially those held in March, aggravated conflicts even more. How much better things are where work is being done properly. I followed with great interest and emotion the course of the 16th CPCZ Congress. I was especially taken by Comrade Gustav Husak's speech. Especially those in our country who have become used to coming forward with nothing but demands should hear it. To demand is not an art at all. Demands should be voiced only after work has been done.

[Question] Who, in your view, is interested in aggravating the situation, in provoking strikes which do only harm?

[Answer] Some forces in "Solidarity" work according to the slogan "the worse, the better." Obviously, they have only their own interests and ambitions in mind. They could not care less how their fellow workers will live, what will happen to society....

[Question] Do you mean by that the people from KOR also?

[Answer] Yes, especially those whose activity we came across more than once in the past. Wherever the KOR people appeared there was unrest; they tried to aggravate the situation and to misuse whatever could be misused. And that can also be said about their current activity in "Solidarity."

[Question] Lately there has been a lot of talk about the possibility of registering the so-called Rural "Solidarity." What do you think about that?

[Answer] He who wants to work, who wants to do something concrete for society, something useful--and now I mean by this the farmers--has a number of opportunities, especially in work aimed at a better supply of foodstuffs. Most of those who talk about Rural Solidarity are farmers whose work is done by others. Such people then have plenty of time to sit, to demonstrate. An honest farmer would not dare to waste even an hour. This is also one of the reasons why many Solidarity members are beginning to see the light.

[Question] Does that mean that they even quit "Solidarity"?

[Answer] That too. Many have already found their bearings. They discovered that Solidarity comes forward with drastic demands whose fulfillment it enforces with strikes. We are not a rich country that can stop work without realizing negative consequences. Moreover, and there are many examples, political demands are popping up, the authors of which have nothing in common with socialism. Today that is also being discussed at party meetings. We must unite our strength to struggle against proponents of a destructive policy, to safeguard the cause of socialism. This is our most important task at present.

Thanks for the interview.

1968-69 'Tendencies' at Torun

LD161714 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] In addition to economic problems, a characteristic of Poland today is a polarization of forces within society which even comprises political extremes. One example is the hidden power struggle within the so-called Solidarity union which has long exceeded the framework of a trade union organization. Key positions within this organization are held by people who do not desire a calm atmosphere and who are launching further pressure campaigns and inciting the escalation of conflicts aimed against the social system. They are pursuing their policies in the interest of their personal ambitions and selfish objectives.

Now, Silesia has apparently become the main item on their program. Extremists within the Solidarity unions are causing friction and inciting distruct in Poland's United Workers Party; their repertoire consisting of fabrications, threats, and demagogy.

The weapons are the same as those used by antisocialist forces in Czechoslovakia back in 1968 and 1969. There are numerous factors offering themselves for comparison. In the so-called Prague Spring, so-called improvers cropped up within the Communist Party and they assumed the right of classifying communists as progressives or conservatives. The purpose of this campaign was to undermine the party's unity and action readiness, to play into the hands of rightwing forces, trying to restore conditions of a bourgeois society.

Unfortunately, similar tendencies cropped up in Poland at a meeting of members of the Polish United Workers Party in the city of Torun. Words about the necessity of so-called liberalization and reforms within the party and demands for changes in leading posts in the party's central organs were pronounced in one breath. According to these ideas, people should resign who were justified in warning of an onslaught of counterrevolutionary forces in Poland.

It should be noted that demands of this type are being supported, above all, by party members who also are members of the Solidarity unions. This implies that by their attitude they are knowingly or unintentionally causing damage to the party.

The United Workers Party's most important task is now to increase the action readiness and authority of Poland's communists in the process of tackling the country's economic and political problems--their authority emanating from abiding by the general principles of building of socialist society.

However, the attitude of some party members at the Torun meeting may support the escalation of political demands which are now being drawn up by the Solidarity leadership with a view to exerting further pressure on the government and maintaining tension throughout the country. This course certainly is not to the country's benefit. Poland is now facing the necessity of solving serious economic problems. What Poland requires now is a calm atmosphere and honest work performed by all the people.

Torun Meeting Attacks Party

LD162254 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2150 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Text] Around 500 exponents of the rightist-revisionist stream in the PZPR gathered in the town of Torun. The gathering was organized on the intiative of a group of intellectuals of the Mikulas Copernicus University, which also provided its hall.

The participants in the gathering openly attacked the policy of the party, denied the principles of democratic centralism and demanded changes in leading bodies of the party and dismissal of the officials whom they labeled as conservatives. Under the slogan of democratization, they pressed for some kind of reform of the party and revision of its statutes, and even called for the immediate acceptance of a completely new program.

REUTER found the fact that a certain Zbigniew Iwanow, who was expelled recently from the party for proven factional activity, took part in the expelled meeting particularly significant. Iwanow said in Torun he continues organizing his own independent communist structures, mainly through universities.

It is typical that the representatives of Walesa's trade unions were invited to the gathering as guests.

The Torun gathering was observed by more than 30 Western journalists.

Commentator on Attacks

LD171148 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1950 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Commentary by editor Miroslav Zizka]

[Excerpt] Even though it is extremely difficult to talk about the situation in Poland from Prague, the information available speaks for itself. There is quite a lot of it and so I had to select only what is most substantial. First, there is the program theses of Walesa's trade unions--the first public ideological and program statement of Walesa's Solidarity. Yesterday's TRYBUNA LUDU published extensive excerpts. Here are some samples to show you what this document contains and what its ideological orientation is.

Strikes are to be organized in those places where they will hit the state hardest, where the greatest damage could be done. Next, Walesa's trade unions consider themselves to be an organization of many world outlooks with special emphasis on Christian inspiration as one of the foundations of ideological values. So-called Solidarity then asks for taxation of luxury property, and by this it means primarily cars and weekend cottages.

The Solidarity decision on the celebration of May Day is quite remarkable. The members of the organization are to spend that day with their families and will possibly participate in events where funds will be collected to support private farmers.

The picture of the situation in Poland is completed by the continuing strike of private farmers in Bydgoszcz. The strikers have received a telegram from the chairman of a special Sejm committee in which the committee has decided to recommend the inclusion of a clause in the law on trade unions under which private farmers could set up their own trade unions.

Another report carried by Polish Radio speaks about a conference of so-called activists, party members, from several provinces who gathered in Torun yesterday. As our Warsaw correspondent, Dr Richard Pokorny, informed us by Telex today, one of its organizers is a certain Zbigniew Iwanow who was expelled from the party after setting up his own so-called independent organization. I am further told by Richard Pokorny that two members of the PZPR Central Committee were also present. They are Zygmund Najdowski, secretary of the Torun Provincial Committee, and Andrzej Werblan, vice chairman of the Sejm, who 1 year ago was secretary of the party's Central Committee. The Torun conference demanded changes in the highest party bodies, revision of the statutes, the convening of some sort of two-phase congress and a new, clearly not socialist, program. It was attended by some 30 Western journalists. Journalists from the socialist countries were not invited.

If we compare these events in Poland with all that has been worked out in anticommunist centers in the West and in NATO organizations which want to drag events toward counter-revolution and provoke a serious international crisis, it is immediately clear from where these forces in Poland are getting their directives.

TOASTS AT 15 APRIL DINNER FOR UN OFFICIAL REPORTED

LD161102 Prague CTK in English 2101 GMT 15 Apr 81

[Text] Prague, 15 Apr (CETEKA)--Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek said in his toast that the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia formulated a foreign-policy line the basis of which--efforts at peace and security in the world--is also the basis of the new Soviet peace proposals. He stressed that the Soviet initiative is also in full accordance with the goals of the United Nations which has been actively contributing, especially in the past decade, to the lessening of tension and to allround international cooperation.

"We welcome above all the Soviet proposal to resume a productive dialogue with the United States, including a dialogue at summit level, with the aim to limit the most dangerous weapons--nuclear weapons," Chnoupek said.

Ruediger von Wechmar appreciated Czechoslovakia's contribution, as a founding member of the U.N., to the work of this world organization, and spoke with appreciation about the Czechoslovak initiative which led to the adoption of the declaration on international cooperation to attain the goals of disarmament, and declaration on the principles of peaceful coexistence. He stressed the need for all states to participate in preserving and extending the process of detente, and expressed the conviction that the peace proposals put forward by Leonid Brezhnev could be an impulse to a political dialogue aimed at ensuring security and peaceful cooperation in the world.

OTHER CONGRESS-RELATED ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Talks With RCP's Oprea

AU101821 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1750 GMT 10 Apr 81

[Text] Prague, 10 Apr (AGERPRES)--During his stay in Prague, Gheorghe Oprea, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy prime minister, head of the RCP delegation to the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, had interviews with Lubomir Strougal, member of the Presidium of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, prime minister of the federal government; Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, first secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Slovakia; Vaclav Hula, member of the Presidium of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, chairman of the State Planning Commission; Josef Korcak, member of the Presidium of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, prime minister of the Czech Government; Josef Simon, deputy prime minister of the federal government, and Andrej Barcak, minister of foreign trade of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

On the occasion, possibilities were examined of further developing collaboration in various fields of activity, of increasing the volume of commercial exchanges over 1981-1985, of expanding Romanian-Czechoslovak economic cooperation. The interviews passed in an atmosphere of warm, comradely friendship.

Haman Meets Cuban Delegate

FL160049 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 0041 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Text] Today Pedro Miret Prieto, member of the Communist Party of Cuba Politburo, met in Prague with Josef Haman, secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party (KSC) Central Committee. At the meeting, the two officials emphasized the good relations that exist between the two countries. They also exchanged views on energy development in Cuba and Czechoslovakia. Pedro Miret Prieto arrived in Prague on 5 April at the head of the Cuban delegation that attended the 16th KSC Congress which ended on 10 April. In his friendly talk with the KSC Central Committee secretary, Miret expressed gratitude for the attentions he had received in that country and for the opportunity he had to familiarize himself with the work at various manufacturing centers of that European nation.

BILAK, DELEGATION RETURN FROM SED CONGRESS

LD161852 Prague CTK in English 1712 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Text] Prague, 16 Apr (CETEKA)--The delegation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, led by Presidium Member and Central Committee secretary Vasil Bilak, returned home Thursday from Berlin where it had attended the 10th S.E.D. Congress.

SED CONGRESS CLOSING SESSION PROCEEDINGS 16 APR

Honecker Speech

LD161308 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1135 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Speech by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, at the closing session of the SED Congress held in the Palace of the Republic in East Berlin--live]

[Text] Dear comrades, dear guests: The Central Committee elected by the 10th party congress has completed its constituent meeting. At its first meeting it unanimously elected its leading organs. [applause] Comrade Erich Honecker was elected general secretary of the SED Central Committee. [prolonged cheers and roars of approval]

Dear comrades, the following comrades have been elected members of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee: Hermann Axen; Horst Dohlus; Werner Felfe; Kurt Hager; Joachim Herrmann; Heinz Hoffmann; Erich Honecker; Werner Krolikowski; Erich Mielke; Gueter Mittag; Erich Mueckenberger; Konrad Naumann; Alfred Neumann; Horst Sindermann; Willi Stoph; Harry Tisch; Paul Verner. [prolonged applause]

The following have been elected candidates of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee: Werner Jarowinsky; Guenther Kleiber; Egon Krenz; Ingeburg Lange; Margarete Mueller; Guenter Schabowski; Gerhard Schuerer; Werner Walde. [applause]

The following have been elected secretaries of the SED Central Committee: Erich Honecker; Hermann Axen; Horst Dohlus; Werner Felfe; Kurt Hager; Joachim Herrmann; Werner Jarowinsky; Ingeburg Lange; Guenter Mittag; Paul Verner. [prolonged applause]

The Central Committee has appointed Comrade Erich Mueckenberger chairman of the Central Party Control Commission. [applause] The SED Central Auditing Commission unanimously elected Comrade Kurt Seibt as its chairman. [applause]

Dear comrades, on behalf of the Central Committee I would like to thank you, the delegates of more than 2,100,000 communists in the GDR, for the confidence you have shown in electing [presumably me] very cordially. [prolonged applause and cheers]

Dear comrades, we are all deeply impressed by the magnificent progress of our 10th party congress and of the strong response it has found at home and abroad. The members and candidate members of the Central Committee have instructed me to assure you that they will not spare their strength in realizing, together with the whole party, the historic decisions of our 10th party congress. [applause]

Prudently and energetically, firmly linked with the people, we will work and fight together with all the working people of the GDR, full of vigor to realize the policy for the well-being of man and the happiness of our people, decided at our party congress. [applause]

Dear comrades, during the discussions at the party congress many addresses have arrived from industrial and agricultural enterprises, from scientific institutions and schools, from the Armed Forces and security organs, as well as from all other areas of social life. They demonstrate that our party, our Marxist-Leninist battle party, has already begun to evaluate the decisions of the 10th party congress and put them into practice. [applause]

Enterprises and combines in industry, the building industry, agricultural producer cooperatives and publicly owned farms with their cooperative facilities propose not only to fulfill the tasks of the economic plan for 1981 but also to overachieve them. More than a few combines have set the goal for themselves of achieving 2 to 3 days' extra production, and this largely without using more materials or more energy. In the name of the delegates to our 10th party congress, I express our heartiest thanks to them all. [applause]

Dear comrades, the 10th SED Congress has pointed the way into the eighties for our GDR. It has done creative, practical and constructive work. At a high political level and with great expert knowledge, the future goals in shaping the advanced socialist society have been dealt with on the basis of what has been achieved and in awareness of the magnitude of the coming requirements. In doing so, the living breath of the socialist revolution in our country has been felt. It was noticeable that our party has grown further in solving its tasks and is living up to its leading role in all spheres of life. And this will also be the case in the future. This was one of the results of our 10th congress. [applause]

In our decisions, we have included the best experiences, valuable tips and proposals of communists and workers which were expressed during the preparations for the 10th congress and here during the debate. Thus, it is confirmed once again that it is collective knowledge and the strength of our party, the masses' firm trust in its policy and common, responsible action that move us forward in the development of the advanced socialist society in the GDR. Thus we are implementing the immortal doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and fulfilling the legacy of those who at all times, even in the grimmest hours, fought for our great cause and laid down their lives for it.

Comrades, with the decisions of our 10th congress, we are continuing in this decade our general line for the well-being of the people. We will do everything in order to secure and gradually to raise the material and cultural living standard of the people. We shall further strengthen our socialist GDR alongside the Soviet Union in the community of fraternal countries. To this end the work of many (?heads) and high performance are required everywhere. It becomes increasingly important to master science and technology and to link their advance with mass initiative in order to achieve top economic and cultural results. We know that it is not easy to cope with the tasks facing us. But we are well prepared, and our people have a great creative potential. For this reason we are firmly convinced that we will be successful in solving the tasks in the eignties as well. [applause]

The most important thing is, and remains, to secure peace--this was particularly stressed by our party congress. The GDR will continue to make its active and constructive contribution to this. Peace, strengthening the socialist community, antifascist [Honecker seems to correct himself] anti-imperialist solidarity--these are the supreme concerns of our foreign policy. They are in line with the nature of socialism, the will of the people in our country and the interests of all people on earth. [applause]

Dear comrades, 125 delegations from communist and workers parties, national revolutionary parties and organizations and socialist and social-democratic parties have participated in our 10th SED Congress. We view your presence as an honor, as an expression of esteem for our party, for our republic. Through their participation our foreign guests have enriched the deliberations of our party congress in manifold ways. On behalf of all delegates to the 10th party congress, I would like to express to you, dear foreign comrades, our most cordial, most fraternal thanks. [applause]

That which our foreign friends and comrades have reported from the most varied parts of the earth and from the most varied sectors of the struggle has made clear those far-reaching revolutionary changes that are in progress in the world. It demonstrates the severity of the conflicts about the vital questions of mankind. It is increasingly being confirmed that socialism is decisively influencing the course of world history and that the future also belongs to it. [applause] The struggle of the peoples for national and social liberation, for independence and against imperialism receives powerful motivation from this.

No matter how difficult the struggle is, and no matter what temporary setbacks there are, this struggle for the peace and progress of peoples will be victorious.

You, dear foreign comrades, used moving words in your greetings to our party and in regard to its internationalist policy. As a result, our awareness of our responsibility in the common cause has been increased. You can be sure that the SED will firmly do its duty in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and international solidarity. [applause]

I would like to stress one more thing at the conclusion of our congress: Our party, the SED, is linked forever with the party of Lenin, the CPSU. [applause] Our party is firmly linked with the other fraternal countries in the socialist community. [applause] It belongs inseparably to the world communist movement. All fighters for peace and socialism and for the peoples' independence and happiness will continue to find a reliable ally in the SED. [applause]

Dear comrades, the 10th party congress reflects the comprehensive political-ideological and organizational work of our party. The discussions of the delegates, the party elections and the great mass movement to prepare for this important event have contributed to it. We can correctly say that our unity and cohesion are firmer than ever.

Linked with this is the readiness of the communists to implement the policy decided by our 10th congress by means of great practical achievements. As events have shown, we can build firmly on the trust of the people in doing our work and in waging our struggle. Each of us, our entire party, will do everything it can in the spirit of Thaelmann in order to always be worthy of the people's trust. [applause]

Dear comrades, the 10th SED Congress is at an end. At this point, we express our cordial thanks to everyone who has been involved in its successful proceedings. We thank the Berliners for their hospitality. We thank the numerous organizers and assistants for their great willingness to work and for their exacting and industrious efforts. [applause]

Comrades, thanks to our great work we were able to carry out a positive review at our congress, and we approach the coming work with confidence. The working class, cooperative peasants, members of the intelligentsia and all workers of our socialist GDR are accomplishing work of truly historic magnitude by means of their creativity and initiative. The ideas of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and Vladimir Lenin are increasingly becoming a social reality in our country from one 5-year period to the next thanks to the strength of our party. [applause] Thus, we want to continue to do everything for the well-being of the people, for the well-being of the working class. We want to do everything so that the people can live in peace, so that socialism can flourish and for the communist future. [applause]

I wish you, dear comrade delegates, health and success in your work and in your own lives. Long live our SED! Long live socialism and peace! [applause and shouts]

Party Election Results

LD161654 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1324 GMT 16 Apr 81

["Communique on the First Meeting of the SED Central Committee"--ADN headline]

[Text] Berlin, 16 Apr (ADN)--The SED Central Committee which was elected at the 10th Congress assembled on Thursday, 16 April 1981 for its constituent meeting.

The Central Committee unanimously elected Comrade Erich Honecker as the general secretary of the SED Central Committee.

The election of the SED Central Committee Politburo and of the Central Committee Secretariat was unanimous.

The following were elected:

As members of the Politburo, Hermann Azen, Horst Dohlus, Werner Felfe, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Heinz Hoffmann, Erich Honecker, Werner Krolikowski, Erich Mielke, Guenter Mittag, Erich Mueckenberger, Konrad Naumann, Alfred Neumann, Horst Sindermann, Willi Stoph, Harry Tisch, Paul Verner;

As candidate members of the Politburo, Werner Jarowinsky, Guenther Kleiber, Egon Krenz, Ingeburg Lange, Margarete Mueller, Guenter Schabowski, Gerhard Schuerer, Werner Walde;

As Central Committee secretaries, Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee, Hermann Axen, Horst Dohlus, Werner Felfe, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowinsky, Ingeburg Lange, Guenter Mittag, Paul Verner.

The Central Committee appointed Politburo member Comrade Erich Mueckenberger, chairman of the party Central Control Commission.

The following were appointed members of the party Central Control Commission: Edith Gehre, Heinz Juch, Helmut Kasch, Herbert Malcherek, Werner Mueller, Guenter Pappenheim, Helmut Pruss, Friedrich Schneikart;

The following were appointed candidate members of the party Central Control Commission: Karl Mennicke, Walter Mothes, Martin Pahnke, Dieter Schmidt, Kurt Seebach, Irmgard Vielhauer.

Auditing Commission Chairman

LD161856 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1321 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Text] Berlin, 16 April (ADN)--The newly elected Central Auditing Commission of the SED met for its constituent meeting on 16 April 1981.

Comrade Kurt Seibt was unanimously reelected chairman of the Central Auditing Commission. Comrade Karl-Heinz Lorber, was unanimously reelected deputy chairman.

Honecker Toast at Reception

LD161826 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1417 GMT 16 Apr 81

["Text" of toast given by SED General Secretary Erich Honecker at SED Congress reception on 16 April]

[Text] Berlin, 16 April (ADN)--Dear comrades, dear foreign guests:

After the successful conclusion of our 10th congress I welcome you most cordially at this friendly gathering. I congratulate all members and candidate members of the Central Committee on their election. They have been entrusted with great responsibility for the work of our party, for the good of the people.

The 10th SED Congress was an important event in the life of our country. It is already becoming clear that its decisions exert a great inspiring force on the working people. They awaken fresh initiatives for the all around strengthening of our socialist GDR in indestructible alliance with the USSR, within the community of the fraternal socialist states.

Socialism, peace and anti-imperialist solidarity, these are the fundamental elements of the Marxist-Leninist policy decided upon by our 10th congress. We shall fight for their implementation with all our strength and also fulfil our internationalist duty in the future.

To all delegates, all communists, all citizens of our republic, who by their work have contributed actively to the good results of the 10th congress, I convey my cost cordial thanks.

Dear comrades and friends,

We regard the contribution of our foreign guests as having been particularly valuable. They have conveyed to us important experiences and findings. At the same time they were able to see for themselves that proletarian internationalism is deeply rooted in our party, in the people of the GDR.

Warm thanks to our foreign comrades and friends for their contribution to the success of our 10th congress. We address these thanks especially to the delegation of the CPSU and to you dear comrade, Mikhail Andreyevich Suslov. Your address to the 10th congress has made manifest the full agreement of our two parties, their unbreakable militant unity, the fraternal ties between our states and peoples.

Dear comrades, dear friends from all parts of the world,

Before us lies a new chapter filled with work. Together with the people, based on their confidence and their creative energies in solving the day-to-day tasks, we embark on the implementation of the decisions of the 10th SED Congress. We are certain that our party, in the struggle for socialism and peace and as a firm and integral part of the communist world movement, will honorably live up to its responsibilities in the future.

Dear comrades and friends,

Let us raise our glasses to the successful realization of the policy decided upon by the 10th congress; to a further advance toward the noble aims of socialism and communism, of peace and the happiness of the peoples throughout the world; to the health and prosperity of all those present.

MORE REPORTAGE ON PROCEEDINGS ON SED CONGRESS

Central Committee Resolution

AU161721 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Apr 81 p 1

[Text] After having received the report of the Central Committee to the 10th party congress, submitted by SED Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Erich Honecker, and having thoroughly discussed the report, the 10th SED Congress adopts the following resolutions:

1. The Marxist-Leninist line of the Central Committee and its practical activity aimed at implementing the decisions of the ninth party congress and the SED party program are fully approved.

2. The report of the Central Committee delivered by SED Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Erich Honecker and the strategy and tactics for the GDR's domestic and foreign policy presented by him are confirmed.

3. The report of the Central Committee, and the tasks and conclusions presented in it, are the guidelines for the uniform and cohesive action and activity of all SED party organizations as well as of communists in the organs of the socialist state power and the mass organizations.

RCP's Dinca Speaks

AU161631 Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Apr 81 pp 6, 7

[Speech by Ion Dinca, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] Central Committee, to the 10th SED Congress in Berlin on 12 Apr 1981]

[Text] Very esteemed Comrade Erich Honecker! Dear comrades! I have been entrusted with the pleasant task of extending warm, friendly greetings to the delegates to the 10th SED Congress and to all communists, on behalf of the RCP central committee, of its Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and on behalf of all Romanian communists, together with best wishes for success to the party congress--an event of particular significance in the life of your party and state. (loud applause) The RCP and all our people are following with interest and great pleasure the great achievements recorded under SED leadership by the GDR working people in developing the economy, science, education and culture, and in constantly improving the material and cultural living standard of the people--a rich inventory that is convincingly reflected in Comrade Erich Honecker's report to the party congress. The impressive program that has been worked out for the 1981-85 period and the fulfillment of the great tasks you propose to carry out will undoubtedly contribute to strengthening the developed socialist system in the GDR and to further improving the well-being of the working people.

On this occasion, too, it gives me great pleasure to stress the dynamic development of the relations of friendship and solidarity, and of multifaceted cooperation between our parties, countries and peoples, to the development of which the meetings and talks between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, have decisively contributed. (prolonged applause) We are firmly convinced that the fruitful cooperation at political, economic, scientific-technical, cultural and other levels between the RCP and SED, between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the GDR, will continue to constantly develop in the spirit of mutual respect and regard, to the benefit and in the interests of our peoples, the cause of peace, socialism and international cooperation. (applause)

Dear comrades! Our people, who under RCP leadership are making every effort to implement the 12th party congress decisions, have successfully travelled--with the conclusion of the preceding 5-year plan--a further distance along the road of building the comprehensively developed socialist society, and Romania's advance toward communism.

In the last 5-year plan, the value of net industrial production recorded a 10.1 percent average annual increase, while agricultural products recorded a 5 percent annual growth rate. Science, education and culture developed forcefully. On the basis of the results achieved in the country's economy, the working people's incomes increased some 29 percent compared with the 18-20 percent initially envisaged. This contributed to a considerable improvement in the material and cultural living standard.

The new 5-year plan we have begun envisages Romania's transition to a new and higher stage in implementing the RCP programs. The forces of production will continue to develop on the basis of the most modern achievements of the scientific-technical revolution. A new quality will be achieved in all areas of economic and social life. A comprehensive agrarian revolution will be carried out, and the people's living standard will be constantly improved.

Dear comrades, we want to assure you that the RCP acts to constantly improve leadership work in all fields of economic and social life, to deepen socialist democracy, and to improve the organizational framework that ensures the direct participation of all working people, irrespective of nationality, in discussing and implementing the party's and state's policy and in leading our overall society.

The leading political role of the RCP, that will shortly celebrate its 60th anniversary, the people's close unity with the party, with its Central Committee and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, as well as the firm agreement with the party's scientific policy aimed at well-being and the happiness of all our nation, at the freedom and independence of our fatherland are more and more forcefully asserted in our country's socieconomic life.

Dear comrades and friends! Our party and state, which are making efforts to consistently implement the program of building socialism in Romania, also carry out an intensive international activity and advocate a policy of peace and cooperation with all states.

Great revolutionary and social and national changes are taking place in the world, and the people's will to end the imperialist and colonialist policy of oppression and domination and to decide their own destiny is asserting itself more and more forcefully. At the same time, we witness a number of imperialist actions aimed at strengthening or redividing spheres of influence, at sharpening conflicts between nations and at stirring new conflicts and sources of tension which lead to the worsening of the international situation and pose great dangers for the people's security and independence and for peace throughout the world.

Considering this, we are of the opinion that it is more than ever necessary to advocate the increasingly closer unity and cooperation among progressive forces and peoples to lessen the worsening of the international climate, to resume the policy of peace, detent, independence and international cooperation, and to solve all problems between countries by peaceful means and negotiations alone.

We are developing broad friendship and cooperation with all socialist countries, and advocate the strengthening of our socialist solidarity. At the same time, we are expanding our relations with the developing countries and the nonaligned, small and medium-size countries, as well as with all countries, irrespective of their social system. Our foreign policy is firmly based on the principles of fully equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs and nonrecourse to the use or threat of force.

We consistently act to achieve an atmosphere of peace, security and understanding in Europe, to contribute to the successful conclusion of the Madrid meeting and to convening a conference of trust and disarmament on the continent. We advocate the cessation of developing and deploying new nuclear missiles in Europe and the transition to negotiations on their complete ban. We advocate the continuation of the Helsinki conference by convening new meetings, an immediate stop to the dangerous arms race and the achievement of disarmament measures, especially nuclear disarmament measures. At the same time, we are of the opinion that is is necessary to intensify the efforts aimed at eliminating underdevelopment and establishing a new international economic order.

The RCP is developing relations of friendship and solidarity with all communist and workers parties. It constantly advocates the achievement of a new type of unity based on the principles of fully equal rights, mutual respect and each party's right to independently formulate its revolutionary strategy and tactics in keeping with the specific realities and conditions in which it carries out its activity. We also promote broad cooperation with the socialist and social democratic parties, with the national liberation movements and with all progressive, anti-imperialist forces since we are of the opinion that the solidarity among those forces is of particular significance for peace, detente, disarmament, progress and understanding among peoples.

Dear comrades! I wish to express thanks for inviting me to participate in your party congress, and to extend heartfelt best wishes for complete success in implementing the important decisions the congress will make for the GDR's progress along the road to socialism and communism. (prolonged applause)

Long live friendship and cooperation between the RCP and SED, between our peoples and countries! (loud applause)

May the cause of peace and socialism triumph throughout the world! (Loud, prolonged applause. The delegates and guests rise from their seats.)

Iraqi CP Member's Address

LD162236 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1040 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Text] Berlin, 16 Apr (ADN)--In his greetings to the 10th SED Congress today, Amir 'Abdallah, member of the Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party, praised the consistent ideological work of the SED. "Your successes in this sphere and your determined adherence to the line of trusting alliance with the Soviet Union are among the greatest achievements registered by your party and your people," he stressed. "The complicated developments at present being experienced in Poland show that your party has determined the correct path of its struggle."

On the situation in the Gulf region, Amir 'Abdallah stated that there imperialism was trying to regain its domination. Its unparralleled military activities were accompanied by a large-scale slander campaign against the USSR and by attempts to undermine the unity of the Arab peoples and to incite them to armed struggles. The progressive forces of the Arab countries supported Leonid Brezhnev's proposal to convene a world conference to solve the Middle East conflict.

SED's Mueller Speaks

LD151412 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1012 GMT 15 Apr 81

[Summary] Berlin, 15 Apr (ADN)--At today's session of the 10th SED Congress, Erich Mueller, member of the SED Central Committee and general director of the Leuna-Werke combine, reported that in the Leuna Works today only 1.5 tons of oil are needed for the production of 1 ton of so-called light products, including gasoline. A new production plant would enable the additional production this year of 55,000 tons of gasoline and the saving of M8.2 million through improved materials and energy economies.

The Leunaplast project, which involves processing previously unused material from pyrolitic gasoline into a new plastic, has been completed by the time of the party congress. Tests made so far with this plastic have produced successful results for its application in the optics industry.

He said that for the successful implementation of the party's economic strategy in the coming years, the processing of lignite into carbochemical products--which could be an important raw materials basis for many chemical products--is of exceptional significance. The Leuna-Werke teams are aiming to save annual imports to the value of 500,000 tons of oil up to and beyond the year 2000 through economic processing of lignite low-temperature coke.

MPRP Delegate's Speech

OW171002 Ulaanbaatar MONTSAME in Russian 1924 GMT 14 Apr 81

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 14 Apr (MONTSAME)--The 10th Congress of the SED is an event of enormous importance not only in the life of the GDR working people but for the entire international communist and workers movement and in the struggle for peace and socialism as well. The SED, which has glorious revolutionary traditions and which carries high the banner of proletarian internationalism, makes a worthy contribution to the development of Marxist-Leninist teaching and the practice of real socialism, declared D. Molomjamts, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MPRP Central Committee, in his address at the 10th SED Congress.

The head of the MPRP delegation said: The throughly substantiated and profoundly comprehensive accountability report of the SED Central Committee, which was delivered by Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and outstanding figure of the international communist and workers movement, made a vivid impression on our delegation. The accountability report vividly and convincingly reflected the multifaceted constructive activities of the party and people in successfully realizing the decisions of the ninth congress of your party, and it outlined the large-scale tasks of construction of a developed socialist society in the GDR, the homeland of the founders of scientific communism Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, and also proposed important tasks of the party's foreign policy activities aimed at consolidating the positions of world socialism and strengthening peace and detente in Europe and throughout the world.

D. Molomjamts noted that owing to the constructive labor and heroic struggle of the working class and all working people and to the fraternal alliance and fruitful cooperation with the great Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, the GDR occupies its rightful place among the leading 10 industrially developed countries of the world. This is also a result of the wise leadership of the SED and serves as convincing proof of the historic advantages of socialism over capitalism. We are firmly confident, he said, that successful realization of the enormous tasks proposed by the SED Central Committee accountability report (?and by the guidelines) of the 10th congress for the 5-year development plan of the GDR's national economy for 1981-85 will give a new powerful impetus to accelerating the rate of construction of developed socialism and further developing the economy, science and culture, and to raising even further the welfare of the GDR working people, thereby augmenting the might of the entire socialist community, which decisively influences the entire course of world development.

D. Molomjamts stressed that in recent times the international situation has been seriously exacerbated as a result of the stepping up the militarist course of U.S. imperialist circles and their NATO allies, who strive to deal with the national liberation movememt of the peoples at any price and to achieve military superiority over the socialist countries under the false cover of an imaginary "Soviet threat."

At the same time the Beijing leaders are pursuing a great-power hegemonic policy and openly forming an alliance with imperialism and the most diehard reactionaries against the socialist countries, and primarily the Soviet Union. This is why our party, as Comrade Y. Tsedenbal noted, inseparably links the struggle against imperialism and reaction and for socialism and progress with the struggle against reactionary Maoism and the great-power hegemonism of the Chinese leaders.

The international communist movement and world revolutionary forces continue to develop successfully despite the desperate resistance of imperialism and reactionary forces. The countries of the socialist community, and primarily the Soviet Union, are consistently and firmly pursuing a course aimed at unifying all revolutionary forces, and are tirelessly struggling for peace and detente, against imperialism and reaction, and against the arms race, the head of the MPRP delegation at the 10th SED COngress said.

D. Molomjamts said: Under conditions of the present international situation, unity of action by communist and workers parties and internationalist solidarity and joint efforts of all revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces become even more necessary in order to frustrate the insidious plans and aspirations of imperialism and defend peace and the security of peoples.

The MPRP sees its duty primarily in continuing to make its contribution towards implementing a coordinated foreign policy course of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries aimed at strengthening peace and the security of peoples in Asia and throughout the world.

D. Molomjamts, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MPRP Central Committee, noted that the historic 26th CPSU Congress was an event of world significance and provided exhaustive answers to the most vitally improtant problems of contemporary international life. In his report at the 26th CPSU Congress, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev proposed new constructive initiatives aimed at radically normalizing the situation in the world, ensuring [words indistinct] peaceful life of all peoples of our world. Like the other fraternal parties, the MPRP fully and completely supports the decisions of the 26th congress of the party of great Lenin and perceives them as its own program.

Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's speech at the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is at the center of attention of the world's public. The Soviet Union's firm determination to consistently pursue a policy of peace and detente and its readiness for a dialogue are reaffirmed in it. The GDR, which is located at the very crossroads of the two worlds of socialism and capitalism, makes a weighty contribution to the struggle for peace, international detente and disarmament and against the forces of imperialism reaction and hegemonism, D. Molomjamts said.

The head of the MPRP delegation noted that the bonds of fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation between our parties and countries, which are based on the firm principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, are deepening and constantly becoming enriched with new forms and contents in accordance with the nigh ideals of the treaty of friendship and cooperation concluded between the MPR and GDR in 1977.

A number of important industrial and agricultural projects, such as the Ulaanbaatar meat combine, the Wilhelm Pieck carpet factory, the Ernst Thaelmann Bornuur state farm and others have been built in our country with the fraternal assistance and with the technical and economic cooperation of the GDR and are operating well.

The working people of our country, D. Molomjamts said, are actively preparing for the 18th congress of the MPRP, which will begin its work in Ulaanbaatar on 26 May 1981, in an atmosphere of enormous political and labor enthusiasm.

The year of the regular MPRP congress is rich in major jubilee events of enormous significance for the destiny and lives of the Mongolian people. On 1 March this year our party and the MPR working people together with their friends and like-minded people overseas widely observed the glorious 60th founding anniversary of the MPRP. Our party is the recognized political vanguard of the Mongolian people and the inspirer and organizer of all the victories and achievements of the working people of socialist Mongolia which accomplished a historic change from feudalism to socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage of development.

The 60th anniversary of victory of the Mongolian people's revolution, which was accomplished under the direct influence of Great October and which led to a fundamental transformation in all spheres of social, economic and political life of Mongolian society, will be solemnly marked on 11 July this year as a great holiday of victory of real socialism on Mongolian soil. The Mongolian people are now successfully building the material and technical base of socialism.

The MPRP, D. Molomjamts stressed, is pursuing a principled course aimed at the utmost convergence and consolidation of our country with the socialist countries, and primarily with the Soviet Union, in all spheres of public life. At the same time our party considers it to be its important task to profoundly study the life-tested rich experience of the Soviet Union, the GDR and other community countries and to be able to creatively utilize it in their practical work for advancement.

Everything said, taken as a whole, is an important factor for accelerating the social and economic development of the MPR and for raising the material and cultural level of the Mongolian People's lives.

Our people are boundlessly happy and delighted that a few days ago the first representative of the MPR together with the illustrious Soviet cosmonauts took to the stellar road blazed 20 years ago by the genius of the Soviet people into space, the gates to which were opened for the first time by Yuriy Gagarin, courageous communist and citizen of the Soviet Union. Successful realization of this international space flight again demonstrates the enormous advantages of socialist internationalism and vivifies the force of the Leninist friendship of the Mongolian and Soviet peoples and makes a great contribution to further developing cooperation of the socialist countries in the framework of the "Interkosmos" program and peaceful development of space for the benefit of the world's peoples, D. Molomjamts stressed.

HONECKER RECEIVES GREETINGS MESSAGE ON REELECTION

Brezhnev Congratulations

LD161550 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1451 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Text] Berlin, 16 Apr (ADN)--Secretary General of the CPSU Central Committee Leonid Brezhnev has sent a message of congratulations to Secretary General of the SED Central Committee Erich Honecker. It says, among other things: On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee and in my own name I cordially congratulate you on your reelection as secretary general of the SED Central Committee. The Soviet people know you well and hold you in esteem as a respected leading personality of the socialist German state, as a prominent representative of the international communist and workers' movement. We highly appreciate your unshakeable determination to strengthen in future also the fighting alliance and friendship between our parties and peoples, and unswervingly develop the all-round cooperation and joint efforts of the GDR with the USSR.

We wish you, Dear Comrade Erich Honecker, and all communists and working people of the GDR, fresh successes in building the advanced socialist society on German soil, in successfully implementing the decisions of the 10th SED Congress.

Husak Greetings

LD161858 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, has sent a telegram of greetings to Erich Honecker on his reelection as general secretary of the SED Central Committee.

HONECKER MEETS CPSU'S SUSLOV, PLEDGES CLOSE TIES

LD162015 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1508 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Text] Berlin, 16 Apr (ADN)--Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, today received Mikhail Andreyevich Suslov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Mikhail Suslov congratulated Erich Honecker on the successful conclusion of the 10th SED Congress and on his reelection as secretary general of the Central Committee. He conveyed to him fraternal greetings and congratulations from Leonid I. Brezhnev, secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, Mikhail Suslov emphasized that the 10th congress has provided renewed proof of the complete unanimity of the CPSU and the SED in their policy for the continued building of socialism and communism, for the preservation and safeguarding of peace.

The congress demonstrated the great ideological cohesion, the internationalist spirit and the readiness of the party to solve the tasks of the 1980's for the benefit of socialism and all the working people.

Erich Honecker cordially thanked Mikhail Suslov for the CPSU delegation attending the 10th congress with its extensive work. He affirmed that the SED, while carrying out the decisions of the congress, will further purposefully develop the close fighting alliance with the party of Lenin, the state and social relations with the USSR, and tie the indissoluble bonds of friendship between the two peoples still more closely. It will redouble its efforts in waging a struggle for consolidating world peace, against the imperialist policy of confrontation, and for ending the arms race alongside the CPSU, the USSR and the other fraternal parties and countries of the sociaist community.

Erich Honecker asked the Soviet guest to convey to Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, CPSU secretary general and chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium the most cordial greetings of the SED Central Committee Politburo and his personal greetings.

The talk was attended by Paul Verner, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee.

Suslov, Delegation Depart

LD170924 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0839 GMT 17 Apr 81

[Text] Berlin, 17 Apr (ADN)--The CPSU delegation headed by member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Nikhail Suslov, which attended the 10th SED Congress, left for home today. The guests were given a cordial send-off at Berlin's Schoenefeld Airport by General Secretary of the SED Central Committee Erich Honecker and other members of the party leadership.

DELEGATES' ACTIVITIES OUTSIDE CONGRESS SESSIONS

Wreath-Laying Ceremony

LD161100 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0800 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Text] Berlin, 16 Apr (ADN)--The 10th SED Congress paid tribute this morning to the unforgotten leader of the German and international workers movement, Ernst Thaelmann, with a wreath-laying ceremony at the socialists' memorial in Berlin-Friedrichsfelde. Today is the 95th anniversary of Ernst Thaelmann's birth. Together with Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, at the flag-bedecked memorial were the members and candidate members of the Central Committee Politburo, the first secretaries of the SED bezirk directorates, other members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee as well as representatives of the congress delegations from the 15 GDR bezirke. With them were Irma Gabel-Thaelmann, party veterans and a delegation of the "Ernst Thaelmann" Pioneer organization. Also present at the impressive ceremony were delegations of the DKP and SEW, led by their chairmen, Herbert Mies and Horst Schmitt.

Staatsoper Performance

LD161112 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2026 GMT 15 Apr 81

[Excerpt] Berlin, 15 Apr (ADN)--On the occasion of the 10th SED Congress the SED Central Committee on Wednesday evening invited delegates, guests and foreign delegations to a festive event at the Deutsche Staatsoper. Outstanding soloists, choirs, orchestras and ballet ensembles of the GDR gave a performance which was received with great applause. Among those present were the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, Erich Honecker; the members of the SED Central Committee Politburo; Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber; and other party and state leaders who, together with the foreign delegations, among them the delegation of the CPSU Central Committee with its leader, Mikhail A. Suslov, warmly applauded the artists.

POLISH PLANNING OFFICIAL HOLDS TALKS IN BUDAPEST

LD162230 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Text] Talks between Gyula Kovacs and Stanislaw Dlugosz, respectively deputy heads of the central planning organizations of Hungary and Poland, have been held in Budapest. Basic problems in coordinating national socioeconomic plans for the period 1981-85 were discussed, with particular emphasis on the mutual supply of raw and other materials, marketables and Polish building trade exports to the Hungarian People's Republic as well as the development of tourism.

Matters initiated at the 18th session of the Polish-Hungarian Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation and those concerning cooperation in utilizing the available production potentials of Polish industry and cooperation in the investment field were assessed. Stanislaw Dlugosz was received by Lajos Faluvegi, Hungarian deputy premier and chairman of the National Planning Office.

SFRY'S DRAGAN ARRIVES FOR OFFICIAL ECONOMIC TALKS

Meeting With Leaders

LD161426 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 15 Apr 81

[Text] Gyorgy Lazar, premier, and Central Committee Secretary Ferenc Havasi have received the deputy chairman of the Yugoslav Government [position as heard]. Zvone Dragan arrived in Budapest yesterday to conduct economic talks with Lajos Faluvegi, deputy premier and chairman of the National Planning Office.

The SFRY Presidium has awarded the Order of Merit of the Yugoslav Order of the Banner to Lajos Faluvegi in recognition of his work in the development of the two countries' economic cooperation. The decoration was presented today by Zvone Dragan.

Faluvegi Honored

LD162318 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0915 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Text] Budapest, 16 Apr (TANJUG)--At a reception held in the Yugoslav Embassy in Budapest, Zvone Dragan, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, presented Lajos Faluvegi, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Hungary, with the order of the Yugoslav Banner with sash, which the SFRY Presidency has awarded him for his merits in comprehensively promoting friendly relations and economic cooperation between the SFRY and the People's Republic of Hungary.

This ceremony was also attended by Ferenc Havasi, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee; Janos Nagy, under secretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; as well as a large number of high-ranking Hungarian economic officials and Milan Veras, Yugoslavia's ambassador in Budapest, and his associates.

BRIEFS

EGYPTIAN OFFICIAL--(Muhamad Mahmud es-Salhi), Egyptian secretary of state for agriculture, visited agricultural and foodstuff industry enterprises during a one-week visit. He has departed our country. He had talks on possibilities for Hungarian participation in Egypt's foodstuff production development program. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 2 Apr 81 p 8 AU]

NEW ARGENTINE AMBASSADOR--Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Antal Apro, president of the National Assembly, have received on an introductory visit Tomas Alva Negri, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Argentina. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 8 Apr 81 p 8 AU]

WERBLAN, LUKASIEWICZ ATTEND FORUM IN TORUN

Results of Ninth Plenum Scored

LD161412 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Text] [Dateline not supplied] The first meeting of party representatives from throughout the country convened on the basis of direct agreement among them was held in Torun yesterday. The formation of horizontal party structures is a new thing in party life. It was caused by impatience; discord with the fossilizations existing in the party; mistrust in the previous mechanisms; bitterness over the post-August experiences and many other motives and emotions. Today these structures are a fact which can play an important role in the congress preparations.

Those taking part in the forum critically evaluated the course and results of the ninth plenum; they drew up demands and proposals to address to the coming Central Committee session and to the Congress Commission. They also stated their reservations about and proposals for the electoral regulations. They criticized the system and permeability of information channels. They formulated a stand on introducing horizontal structures into the new party statute and on including more representatives of party organizations in the Congress Commission. The forum set up six working groups.

Werblan Addresses Forum

LD161640 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Apr (PAP)--The first precongress national forum of party agreement [soglasheniye], in which representatives of 14 commissions and consultative groups of the party rank and file participated, has taken place in Torun.

Andrzej Werblan, member of the PZPR Central Committee and director of the Institute of Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism, and Ryszard Lukasiewicz, deputy head of the PZPR Central Committee Organization Department, who spoke in the course of the discussion, spoke about the achievements and principles of the interaction of rank and file party organizations.

The participants of the forum noted the necessity of introducing into the charter a provision on consultations between party organizations both about an important form of control and about democracy in intraparty life, and of introducing changes into the system of convoking the central commission for preparing the congress. The aims of the 10th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and organizational activity within the framework of the rank and file structures of consultative party organizations were discussed.

AFP on 'Unauthorized' Forum

NC161610 Paris AFP in English 1553 GMT 16 Apr 81

[By Maryan Kafarski]

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Apr (AFP)--The struggle for the "authentic democratization" of the Polish Communist Party entered a new phase today at Torun, 250 kms (156 miles) northeast of here, at a meeting devoted to preparations for the ninth national party congress. It was the first assembly at the national level dedicated to preparations for the congress and it did not have the blessing of the leadership. It was organized by the basic party cells in the country's largest cities.

The meeting, unprecedented in the history of Polish communism, attracted 800 delegates, who challenged the monopoly of the leadership and the "apparatchiks," the party functionaries.

The delegates questioned the "sacred" principle of "democratic centralism" for which they would substitute "horizontal structures," as opposed to the currently existing "vertical structures."

During the meeting, the delegates, many of whom were wearing the insignia of the independent trade union federation Solidarity, accused the current leadership of "immobility," anti-democratic acts and of obscuring the true opinions of the party's membership.

The party "liberals," who no longer place any reliance in their leaders, strongly expressed their desire to accelerate the process of the "democratization of the socialist renewal" in Poland.

The delegates demanded the dismissal of Politburo and Central Committee members who, they said, oppose the country's political renewal and have lost the confidence of militant members. Among those mentioned as eminent candidates for purging were Stefan Olszowski, Central Committee official for the mass media, Tadeusz Grabski, the Central Committee's union relations chief, and Politburo member Andrzej Zabinski.

Mr Zabinski is first Central Committee secretary for the Katowice district, a stronghold of former national party First Secretary Edward Gierek.

Although the delegates expressed strong criticisms, none mentioned the possible splitting up of the party. The speakers at the meeting indicated that they did not want schism but a leadership that was attentive to the desires of the rank and file. They do not regard their demands as foolish but as serious criticisms that should be taken into consideration by the Tenth Central Committee Plenum, which is expected to be held the last week of this month.

The plenum is to draw up plans for the 10th congress. The meeting at Torun urged the Central Committee to approve "democratic" procedures by the congress and to listen to the workers.

Former Politburo member Andrzej Werblan, who attended the meeting, expressed support for freedom of expression and for criticism within the party structures. "Lenin called for discipline," he said, "but did not favor destroying dissent, which was Stalin's approach."

The Polish party's leadership has opposed the supporters of "horizontal structures," arguing that they want to form a second Central Committee. But as criticism has expanded, the leaders have given ground, although they have still not accepted entirely all of the liberals' proposals.

The party newspaper TRYBUNA LUDU grudgingly admitted that the Torun meeting was "an important phenomenon."

The meeting, which has not challenged party hardliners, has opened a new page in the history of the Polish Communist Party. If there is no crackdown or a purge of liberal elements, Polish communism may take on a new face in the next few months.

LE MONDE ON PZPR 'HORIZONTAL STRUCTURES' AT TORUN

LD161251 Paris LE MONDE in French 16 Apr 81 p 3

[Bernard Guetta dispatch: "Party Grassroots in Favor of Renewal Is Being Organized at National Level"]

[Text] Warsaw--Dissidence at grass roots level in the party, which is growing stronger every day, is now being organized at a national level. Indeed there was to be a conference at Torun University this Wednesday 15 April attended by representatives from some 20 "horizontal structures" which have gradually been set up since last November in around half the country's 49 voivodships.

These structures, parallel to the traditional vertical organization, comprise cells--enterprise cells for the most part--wishing to speed up the renewal process within the party. The first of these structures was set up in Torun to counterbalance the regional leadership which was regarded as too conservative. Its main leader, Mr Iwanow, who makes no secret of his Catholic faith, was expelled from the PZPR in December but has nonetheless been kept as party leader in his factory by his comrades. A complex battle is going on to have him reinstated.

Other structures have, however, been set up with the approval of the party voivodship committee leaders and are therefore not in such a position of conflict with the apparatus although that does not make their criticism any less virulent. This is particularly the case in Gdansk, where First Secretary Fiszbach has, it is true, always succeeded in avoiding losing contact with his grass roots among whom he enjoys definite respect.

It was expected that around 20 "horizontal structures" would be represented at this national conference which has been convened by the Torun and Szczecin dissidents with the support of those in Gdansk and Lodz. Several intellectuals were to speak, notably Mr Lamentinowicz, professor at the party school and leader of the Karl Marx group in Warsaw which contains the leading wing of the party's intelligentsia.

Channeling the Fundamental Movement

The discussions were to relate mainly to the joint drafting of a draft program and the reform of PZPR rules which the dissidents have taken as their main prong of attack. This meeting--at least this is what most of its organizers hope--could possibly serve to channel the fundamental movement which is now threatening virtually all existing leaders and is likely to lead to a complete change in the composition of the Central Committee at the next congress. The more serious-minded dissidents realize that an upheaval of such scope would have extremely serious international repercussions and that it is therefore necessary to limit it by concentrating the effort on democraticizing the rules.

Moreover one of the paradoxes of the situation is that there are very few potential candidates for positions of responsibility among the dissidents. Many of them are members of the independent Solidarity trade union and most dislike the idea of being placed overnight in an uncertain position in relation to their factory comrades.

The party leadership has apparently decided to send the director of the Organization Department, Zdzislaw Kurowski, to represent it at this conference. This is a logical choice given the post occupied by Mr Kurowski. But the fact that, together with Mr Olszowski and Mr Grabski, he is one of the party's most conservative leaders, should also enable the "moderates" in the leadership to avoid seeming to directly support this grass roots movement--which, moreover is not the case.

Another party figure will apparently be present: Mr Werblan, who left the Politburo on 2 December after the Seventh Central Committee Plenum. The circumstances in which he left are so far as mysterious as the political game being played by this historical party leader who, after being considered all the time by opinion to be very close to Moscow, is now playing a very active role on the fringes of the dissidence movement.

Mr Werblan's Reappearance

Mr Werblan is one of the most enthusiastic advocates of Mr Iwanow's reinstatement and he organized two semi-dissident meetings in Warsaw on Tuesday and Friday last week which were attended by members of the voivodship commissions preparing for the congress who express criticism and representatives from some of the horizontal structures. Mr Kurowski, who had already been chosen as the leadership's representative, attended those two meetings and adopted a surprisingly flexible attitude, going so far as to state that the horizontal structures are a good thing for the party and that they should be included as a principle in the rules.

Furthermore on Tuesday the authorities officially confirmed that the trial of four members of the Confederation for an Independent Poland would open on 27 April. Mr Moczulski, arrested on 23 September, and Mr Szeremetiew, Mr Stanski and Mr Jandziszak, who have been held since November are charged with having "set up an organization in September 1979 financed by foreign centers" with a view to "overthrowing the Polish constitutional system by force, weakening its defense system and provoking a break in Poland's alliances...."

The committee for the defense of prisoners of opinion, which was founded a few months ago on Solidarity's initiative and which comprises several leading figures in Polish culture including film director Andrzej Wajda, has announced that it will hold a press conference before the trial starts.

Rationing, which is already in force for sugar and meat, is to be extended. (The PAP agency which had supplied all the details canceled its dispatch late on Wednesday night. Questioned about this the duty editor explained that the government "has not yet taken a final decision.") But General Jaruzelski had announced in the Sejm on 10 April that this would have to be done to distribute what little there is from 1 May to butter (for a 3-month period) and to flour and rice (until 3 December). Henceforth Poles will only be able to buy 500 grams of butter per person per month. Pregnant women and children will however be entitled to slightly more while peasants--provided they supply the state with a minimum annual production of Z15,000--will only be able to procure half the ration allocated to city dwellers. This different treatment will not be applied as far as flour is concerned (1 kg per person per month) and rice (500 grams per person every 3 months). In some voivodships rationing has already been introduced for almost all food commodities and products.

SEJM COMMISSION RECOMMENDS FARMERS TU LEGALIZATION

LD161946 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Text] The sit-in strike by farmers in the ZSL Voivodship Committee building in Bydgoszcz continues.

Yesterday afternoon, Prof Jan Szczepanski, chairman of the extraordinary Sejm commission for the implementation of social contracts, sent information to the voivodship office which has been made available to the striking peasants. Professor Szczepanski suggests another article should be added to the agreed precepts of the bill on trade unions. This article would ensure the possibility of forming and organizing a trade union of private farmers.

Thus, on this basis, the court could carry out the registration of an NSZZ of Private Farmers in Solidarity. It has also been suggested that on 25 April a meeting should take place to be attended by the group set up by the State Council for the drafting of that bill. [Words indistinct] would be introduced precepts to the bill, adopted in the course of the talks and pertaining to the legal basis of the registration of the NSZZ of Private Farmers in Solidarity. The guarantee that this will happen is to be ensured by the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic in the person of the vice marshal of the Sejm, Prof Halina Skibniewska, and the extraordinary commission headed by Prof Jan Szczepanski.

This afternoon representatives of the National Strike Committee presented their opinions to Professor Szczepanski's proposals. First, they were amazed by the fact that these proposals had not been sent to them directly. In addition, they consider that the meeting to be held on 25 April must be attended by representatives of the National Founding Committee of the NSZZ of Private Farmers in Solidarity, or of the strike committee.

The peasants have unequivocally stated that they will not stop the strike before their trade union has been registered.

COMMISSION, BYDGOSZCZ FARMERS MEET, NEAR AGREEMENT

Commission Leaves for Talks

LD161804 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Text] A government delegation left for talks with workers demonstrating in Bydgoszcz at the ZSL Voivodship Committee. The delegation consists of the minister for trade union relations, Stanislaw Ciosek, and vice minsiter of agriculture, Andrzej Kacala. The talks will be resumed today.

Agreement 'Expected'

LD170724 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 17 Apr 81

[Text] Minister for Trade Union Affairs Stanislaw Ciosek and Vice Minister of Agriculture Andrzej Kacala have been in Bydgoszcz since yesterday. They are holding talks with the strike committee of private farmers occupying the headquarters of the ZSL Voivodship Committee.

Our Bydgoszcz correspondent reports that an agreement is expected to be signed at about 0930.

Talks Continue

LD171114 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1000 GMT 17 Apr 81

[Text] Talks began before 2300 yesterday between the government commission headed by Minister for Trade Union Affairs Stanislaw Ciosek and Vice Minister of Agriculture Andrzej Kacala and the National Strike Committee headed by Roman Bartoszcze. The talks are being held in the Bydgoszcz Voivodship ZSL Committee's building, which has been occupied by farmers of the NSZZ of Private Farmers Solidarity since 16 March.

Both sides have now precisely defined their positions after lengthy discussions on government recognition and the creation of the conditions for the registration of the NSZZ of Private Farmers Solidarity and on the legal confirmation of the farmers' right to form trade unions. Their positions are very close but differ in form and position.

It was decided at about 0500 today to end the plenary talks and to turn over the working groups the tasks of formulating the text of an agreement and of eliminating the points of contention, especially in regard to setting a deadline for the government to ensure the legal conditions for the registration of the NSZZ of Private Farmers Solidarity. An agreement has not yet been signed or announced.

The talks in Bydgoszcz are continuing and there has been no change in the situation. We will report any new information in subsequent newcasts.

Government Statement; Dispute

LD170844 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 17 Apr 81

[Text] Minister for Trade Union Affairs Stanislaw Ciosek and Vice Minister of Agriculture Andrzej Kacala have been in Bydgoszcz since yesterday. They are holding talks with the strike committee of private farmers occupying the building of the ZSL Voivodship Committee.

Our Bydgoszcz correspondent reports that at 0420 today, Stanislaw Ciosek presented the official government statement. He said that the government commission was competent to make certain (?changes) in the statement, which is a legal document. Here is the full text of the statement:

In accordance with the agreement of 30 March, stressing the need to eliminate the conflict which arose over the issue of private farmers' trade unions and also taking into account the declaration of the founding committee of the NSZZ of Private Farmers proposed to the extraordinary commission of the Sejm, in which the role of the PZPR as the leading force in the construction of socialism is recognized, as well as that of the ZSL in the formation and implementation of agricultural policy, and also the partnership attitude to the organization of agricultural circles, the government believes the road to the registration of an NSZZ of Private Farmers has been opened.

The government will strive to prepare a law on agricultural self-government and self-governing agricultural organizations to define the legal bases for the activity of a union and such principles and course of registration as concerns trade union employees. The deadline of 10 May this year is given.

Second, (?it will strive) for the above to be taken into account in the law on trade unions which is under preparation.

Third, the representatives of the district founding committee of the NSZZ of Private Farmers will take part with full rights in the work on both laws. Until registration, the NSZZ of Private Farmers will develop its trade union activity within the framework of the binding legal system.

The above standpoint, in the government's opinion, removes the root causes of the farmers' continuing protest. In the interests of the whole nation, attention must be focused at the present moment on solving the most difficult economic problems.

After this document was presented, a stormy discussion began. Jan Kulaj said that editing of the document should be participated in by the farmers. Something had to be done to prevent people losing face over this, he said. There were many who said the name of the union should be given in full: the NSZZ of Private Farmers Solidarity.

Roman Bartoszcze proposed that, on the basis of the government statement and (?the) Solidarity statement, a separate agreement should be drafted which would show the partnerlike solution by both sides to such a great (?problem).

FARMERS ENTER, OCCUPY BUILDING IN INOWROCLAW

LD161526 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Text] A building in Inowroclaw which houses a PZPR ideological and education center, newspaper editorial offices, and an urban-parish committee of the United Peasant Party, thq urban committee of the Democratic Party and the urban office of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, was entered by a group of several dozen farmers before 1800 this morning. The farmers said they would be starting their occupation of the building in the office of the urban-parish committee of the ZSL. In this way they are protesting that up to now the NSZZ of Private Farmers has not been registered. They are acting also in solidarity with the farmers striking in the ZSL Voivodship Committee in Bydgoszcz where in contravention of a previous agreement, a government commission again failed to arrive.

As our Bydgoszcz correspondent has discovered, the Presidium of the Interfactory Founding Committee (MKZ) of NSZZ Solidarity in Bydgoszcz is to take a stand on the occupation of the building in Inowroclaw.

Sit-In Strike Proclaimed

LD162210 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Text] The Interfactory Founding Committee [MKZ] Private Farmers of NSZZ Solidarity has proclaimed a sit-in strike in the ZSL urban parish committee building in Inowroclaw.

Of the 120 persons occupying the ZSL premises, 27 have begun a hunger strike. The MKZ of NSZZ Solidarity in Bydgoszcz is to deal with this matter.

No Union Position on Events

LD162006 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 17 Apr 81

[Text] We learned from the press spokesman of NSZZ Solidarity, Janusz Onyszkiewicz, that the Presidium of the National Consultative Commission did not deal with the events in Inowroclaw today. Therefore, so far there is no union position on the action of the farmers occupying the ZSL headquarters.

TRADE UNIONS MINISTER, SOLIDARITY DELEGATION MEET

LD161746 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Text] According to the office of the government press spokesman, Minister [of Trade Union Relations] Stanislaw Ciosek today met a delegation of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of NSZZ Solidarity led by Zbigniew Bujak. The meeting concerned preparations for talks between the government and the KKP of NSZZ Solidarity. It was agreed that in these talks attention will be given to the proposals of the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs and those of the KKP of NSZZ Solidarity. Current problems of cooperation were also discussed.

KKP, Government To Meet

NC161702 Paris AFP in English 1650 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Apr (AFP)--The Polish Government has agreed to a request by the independent trade union Solidarity for a meeting with the national leadership before May 6, a spokesman for the labor group said today.

Spokesman Janusz Onyszkiewicz said the decision was taken at a meeting here between a Solidarity delegation and the Polish minister in charge of union affairs, Stanislaw Ciosek.

The Warsaw authorities agreed to meet with the entire Solidarity National Coordinating Committee, which serves as the union's "parliament," and is comprised of about 50 members, Mr. Onyszkiewicz said.

The Solidarity delegation that met here was composed of civilian workers from the Polish militia and army. The government also agreed to a meeting at the end of April between unionists and the ministers of defense and the interior to discuss alleged repression against labor militants.

Other "working meetings" between the government and the union were also planned between now and May 6.

LE FIGARO INTERVIEW WITH RURAL SOLIDARITY LEADER

LD161313 Paris LE FIGARO in French 15 Apr 81 p 6

[Bernard Margueritte interview with Polish rural trade union national spokesman Gabriel Janowski: "Poland: Farmers' Solidarity Might Be Recognized Before the End of the Month"--date and place not given]

[Text] Warsaw--The most important issue to be settled now between the government and the movements which express the will of the population, primarily Solidarity, is clearly the question of the registration of a free farmers' trade union. While an occupation strike on this issue is continuing in Bydgoszcz, there is great activity in Warsaw to reach a satisfactory result.

Last Saturday a scientific symposium held at the higher agricultural school ended with the adoption of a resolution calling for the registration of the NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers which was formed by the fusion of three peasants' Solidarity movements on 9 March.

The trade union leaders handed Sejm President and United Peasants' Party President Gucwa a "statement on the aims and nature" of their organization on Monday. They were also received on Tuesday by Professor Szczepanski, chairman of the Sejm commission responsible for monitoring implementation of the agreements with Solidarity. In addition these leaders had very fruitful talks with Politburo member Barcikowski, who also discussed the matter with senior church dignitaries. Indeed it is known that the Episcopate, especially Cardinal Wyszynski, clearly support the new trade union.

All that is being awaited now is the result of negotiations on this subject in Bydgoszcz.

Gabriel Janowski, deputy president and national spokesman of the new trade union, was good enough to explain to me at length the aims of hopes of his organization. Mr Janowski, 34, is a fairly surprising figure since he is both a teacher at the higher agricultural school and owner of a 12-hectare farm 30 km from Warsaw. His resemblance to the workers' Solidarity leader, which is not only due to his magnificent moustach, has prompted people to call him the "Walesa of the Farmers' Trade Union." That makes him smile. "That comparison goes too far. Of course I was the founder of one of the three organizations which gave rise to our movement but there are many other members, moreover the comparison is too flattering. But I will not conceal the fact that the comparison pleases me. We would like to play the same positive role in the country with the peasants as Walesa is playing with the working class."

Asked what prompted the private farmers to create their own trade union (1.2 million farmers, or one-third of all farmers, are already members) Mr Janowski replied that they felt their "property and work was not respected." He added that the private farmers were outraged to see so little investment, so few machines and so little fertilizer allocated to them. "Up to now nobody defended the peasants' interests and they depended on the administration's good will. We are paying the price for this now with the present crisis in supplies."

In the spokesman's view, therefore, the trade union should "defend the peasant as a citizen and a man, defend his dignity and his social living conditions, which are much lower in rural districts than they are in the cities, defend his economic interests and protect him against a legal system which in fact often ignores the law."

No Political Danger

When people talk to him about the statements by some of the country's leaders who claim that his trade union constitutes a threat to socialism, Mr Janowski grows angry: "We specified in the declaration of our aims that we have no political ambition and we recognize that the party is the ruling political force in our state. In a socialist system land ownership does not constitute capital. It simply gives the peasant his place of work." The Solidarity Farmers Trade Union intends, therefore, to act within the framework of the existing system but with the aim of renewing and strengthening it through practical action and a partnership.

Furthermore Gabriel Janowski does not understand why the government is stalling so much, trying all kinds of last-minute maneuvers which are doomed to failure (such as for instance the transformation of the government-controlled agricultural circles into "free trade unions") before recognizing the Farmers' Solidarity. "If the government were fully aware of the role it ought to be playing it would give priority to registering our trade union as quickly as possible. Its existence is completely in the state's interest. It does not constitute any political danger but can play a stabilizing sociopolitical role and above all have a very positive economic influence.

"Thanks to the union the 3-year agricultural production plan will enable us to solve the food crisis in Poland provided the state provides us with the necessary means."

Indeed the effect of reforms is felt much more rapidly in agriculture than in industry. The free trade union can exercise control in that sphere making it possible to avoid mistakes in agricultural policy and it could even play the role of joint participant in defining that policy. "Is that not an excellent socialist model?" Mr Janowski exclaimed.

So what are the present chances of the trade union being successfully registered? After the latest Rakowski-Walesa negotiations, Farmers' Solidarity has just been recognized de facto if not de jure and can therefore operate openly. Moreover Gabriel Janowski is confident: "The registration of our trade union is now within reach. It will take place before the end of the month, at the latest." One solution might be for the State Council to issue a decree allowing the Farmers Trade Union to be registered--a decree similar to the one issued last year before the acceptance of workers' Solidarity.

However, Mr Janowski did not conceal the fact that "the farmers are losing patience." He concluded: "The farmers of this country have shown great political understanding but they cannot wait any longer. If our trade union is not registered before the end of the month the strike which is continuing in Bydgoszcz could take a more violent turn and we would above all like to be able to avoid that."

WALESA ANSWERS CRITICISM OF TU 'EXTREMISTS'

LD141421 Paris LE FIGARO in French 14 Apr 81 p 3

[Bernard Margueritte dispatch: "Lech Walesa Replies to Attacks From His 'Extremists'"]

[Text] Warsaw--Lech Walesa has just replied calmly but firmly to the open letter sent to him last Friday by Solidarity Vice Chairman Andrzej Gwiazda. It will be remembered that in that letter Mr Gwiazda defended the Social Self-Defense Committee dissidents and strongly attacked the Solidarity chairman, accusing him, in particular, of not respecting trade union democracy.

Mr Walesa replied that "democracy is a very important thing for our movement. That is why I am constantly calling for elections to be held within the periods laid down by the rules." This is a clear allusion: Indeed it is known that the trade union "hard-liners" are delaying those elections for fear of being ousted in them. Mr Walesa continued by stating that after these elections "our movement will be led by people who have the workers' confidence and a sense of responsibility toward those who have elected them."

The Solidarity leader added that it would be better to leave the writing of open letters to "retirement days" and he concluded in unmistakably strong terms: "I have already thought of retiring from the trade union myself, of leaving the job of running the movement. However, I reached the conclusion that I have no right to do so while there is a possibility that an adventurist or irresponsible attitude might triumph in the trade union. I consider that I can still boldly and cautiously do something for the trade union and for the country. I hope you will be able to do so too."

The Warsaw region Solidarity bulletin stated yesterday, moreover, that Mr Onyszkiewicz has been elected as the movement's national spokesman contrary to the wishes of Mr Walesa, who wanted Mr Badkowski, another leading figure in the movement. Mr Onyszkiewicz won by 31 votes to only 8 for the candidate supported by Lech Walesa.

KANIA CHAIRS CONGRESS COMMISSION ON STATUTE CHANGES

LD161252 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1130 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Text] The fourth plenary session of the Congress Commission is taking place in Warsaw under the chairmanship of Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the party Central Committee.

The main aim of today's session is to discuss changes in the statute of the PZPR. Remarks and proposals regarding this matter which have been forwarded to the commission from party organizations in various communities as well as suggestions sent by the voivodship precongress commissions and teams figure prominently in the deliberations.

Let us recall that questions of the PZPR statute, changes and modifications in this document are being debated and analyzed in depth by the first problem group of the Congress Commission.

The starting point for discussion at the commission meeting was the introduction by Zdzislaw Kurowski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

[Words indistinct] the Presidium of the Congress Commission, he presented the proposals and comments on the changes in the PZPR statute. In the draft statute, which will be presented at the ninth congress, consideration has been given to the proposals to strengthen the fundamental operating principles of the PZPR as a party guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism, applying it creatively in accordance with the country's conditions and needs; and to base the party on the Leninist principles of democracy and discipline.

Three new sections have been introduced: intraparty democracy and intraparty centralism; the PZPR in a system of socialist democracy and, the last, electoral principles, authorities and delegates, guaranteeing ballot secrecy and an unlimited fielding of candidates.

The changes also concern the introduction of a ban on one person being entrusted with several party and state mangerial posts; an increase in the powers of the Auditing Commission and Party Control Commission; and also the openness of party life, the flow of information and the holding of consultations.

Kurowski on Proposed Changes

LD161912 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 16 Apr 81

["Excerpts" of Speech by Zdzislaw Kurowski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at PZPR Congress Commission Plenum in Warsaw on 16 April--recorded]

[Text] Comrades! In proposing changes and amendments to the statute of the PZPR, we were guided by the fundamental principles of our party as a Marxist party which observes Leninist norms, which is true to the ideal of patriotism and internationalism, and which also, guided by its own experience, takes into account the significance of the construction of socialism at the present time.

In proposing the changes, we were guided by the general aim expressed in discussion and in correspondence received, namely the democratization of party relations, the creation of guarantees of observance of the Leninist principles of party life in the day-to-day activity of the party and all its cells. It was often stated in discussion, too, that fine words in the statute are in themselves not enough. After all, the text of the existing statute does correctly resolve many issues of party life.

What is most necessary is an operational practice for the entire party and all its cells which would mean that the statute would never become a dead letter.

Sharing this view of the issues discussed, most speakers stressed, on the basis of previous experience, that in our party the democratic rights of its members or party organizations should be guaranteed institutionally by a set of norms in the party statute. Three new sections have been introduced: intraparty democracy and democratic centralism; the PZPR in a system of socialist democracy, in which the party's tasks in bringing about socialist democracy in the party and the state are defined; and the new, third section on electoral principles defines the basic principles for electing the authorities and delegates, which I will discuss further on in my speech.

The changes in the remaining sections aim at a fuller definition of the duties and powers of echelons and elected bodies at all levels, including the scope of the powers of the Politburo, the Secretariat and the first secretary of the Central Committee and also of regional echelons; at defining the principles governing terms of office and rotation and considerably curbing the practice of linking party posts and managerial posts in the state administration and the economy at the same level of operation; at increasing the powers of the Party Control Commission and the Audit Commission, recommending their election by the congress and the conference; and at enhancing the status of the elected echelons in the party and determining the subservient role of the party apparatus in relation to them. Meeting half way the numerous proposals and postulates, the first working team of our commission affirmed the need to elevate the role and position of the primary party organizations as well as the rights of party members, while at the same time specifying precisely their duties.

This is to be achieved through additional powers granted to party members as indicated in the statute. These are active participation in drafting the program and the party's general line, as well as in shaping its policy, presenting and defending one's own views which differ from those of the majority on the matters concerning party policy, including with regard to resolutions adopted by party echelons and one's own primary party organization, and defending them in the party forum and in higher echelons, and also criticizing and evaluating at party meetings the past behavior, not only of every party member and activist, but also the party organization and echelons.

So as to ensure conditions for a broad and unhampered debate it is suggested that the following addendum be made: For critical utterances--in the party forum, of course--a party member must not be subjected to spiteful behavior or taken to task by the party. Party members will have greater rights as regards the presentation of their point of view to party echelons, right up to congress level. The enhancement of rights is accompanied by the widening of certain duties of party members, mainly as regards participation in the implementation of party resolutions, promotion of party policy, attracting non-party people to the party, active opposition to antisocialist views and actions aimed against the precepts of the socialist system and People's Poland, and opposition to attitudes which violate the statute and moral norms.

A great deal of attention during the debate has been devoted to problems of democratic centralism and intraparty democracy. This is understandable since these fundamental precepts have been most violated in the practice of party life. It has been ascertained in the submitted project of amendments and supplements to the statute that the precepts of democratic centralism ought to be formulated in such a way as to make it clear that, first, the foundation of the centralist party structure, in the Leninist concept of the word, is a uniform and firm direction of party work which, to achieve the mapped out objectives of socialism, calls for the subordination of the entire party to the will of the majority, and of the lower echelons in the party structure and their authorities to the superior echelons and their authorities.

This also calls for conscious discipline, which should apply equally to all members of the party.

Second, centralism understood as united action by the party, and the cohesion of its leadership, is possible only under the condition--and I would like to stress this very strongly--of authentic democracy within the party, which in the Leninist sense means that all members of the party should have the same opportunity for taking part in shaping the party program and its general line, and also that all members of the party should have the same opportunity for the election of their authorities and of active participation in the implementation of the resolutions adopted, as well as in controlling this implementation.

Third, centralism and democracy constitute a dialectic unity. Centralism without democracy constitutes a serious violation of the principles of the life of the party, which in radical cases forces it to make wrong decisions which do not reflect the needs of life, or forces it to make use of purely mechanical discipline which leads to the weakening of ideological bonds and to the disappearance of support for party echelons.

The draft statute also contains formulations which prohibit the use of democracy within the party for work of a factional nature. It points out in several places that unlimited discussions and criticism must not be used to weaken the party or used against its ideological and organizational unity.

In the new, fourth chapter, entitled "The PZPR in the System of Socialist Democracy," an attempt has been made to define the leading role of the party on the basis of the principles of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic, and the place of the party in the system of socialist democracy.

This chapter states that it is the duty of the party and its members to realize the fundamental values of the system, such as legality, people's rule, social equality and justice, freedom and citizens' rights.

It strongly emphasizes that the party fulfills its leading role in the state and in the nation through party members active in the organs of authority; state and economic administration, and in social, youth and cooperative organizations.

It states that party organizations and echelons should observe the independence of the echelons of authority and administration, and also of social organizations, and must not replace them in the implementation of their functions and tasks.

Another problem, one which has been subjected to exceptionally lively discussion, concerns the proposals for changes in the statute concerned with elections within the party.

In some circles the principles of elections are regarded as the only guarantees for democracy within the party. We have introduced a separate chapter entitled "Principles for Elections."

This chapter contains three fundamental election principles which will determine the character of elections by accepting their general secrecy at all levels, the admissibility of putting up any number of candidates to posts in party authorities and the admissibility of running for the post of party delegate, and also limits to be applied on the holding of leading offices to which one has to be elected.

The statute unequivocally declares that elections should be secret in all echelons and to all leading posts; that the number of candidates to party authorities and for delegates put forward by an election commission or at a meeting will be decided by an appropriate commission, meeting, or congress, and that a member can hold the same post in executive organs to which he had been elected for not longer than two terms of office. The principle of rotation is one of the most widely discussed problems and great hopes are linked with it for the creation of a system of guarantees against deformations. But doubts are being raised on this matter in connection with the need to safeguard the continuity of work and the handing over of the experiences to the elected authorities.

An alternative solution is proposed on the initiative of Comrade Stanislaw Kania. This solution was discussed yesterday at the session of the Congress Commission Presidium and Secretariat and consists in that the principle of rotation should concern all first secretaries from the Central Committee down to the organizations at primary level, and also that this rotation should not apply to the basic party organizations. A proposal was also formulated to ban members of the apparatus from representing elected party bodies and from making any decisions or making any statements in their name without proper authorization.

The Politburo also discussed this subject on 14 April and, in keeping with the subservient role of the party apparat, it defined in adopted guidelines the duties of the apparat in the spirit of the postulated proposals included in the draft changes of the statute.

I would like to inform you, comrades, that a dozen or so of the total number of proposals were not included in the draft amendments of the statute. The first working group considered that some of them exceed the political and ideological framework of our party and would undermine the character and the principles of its functioning. They include proposals concerning the abandonment of the principles of the leading role of the party, democratic centralism, and the ideological principles of the party based on scientific foundations of Marxism-Leninism, as well as a change of name for the party.

The limitation of the party's role to mere ideological leadership must be considered as an utopian idealistic proposal contrary to the Leninist concept of a party of a new type, and as a result having adverse consequences for the practice of socialist construction. On the other hand, it is an urgent task resolutely to eliminate, both in the method and the practice of the party's leading role, all the distortions which have accumulated over the years and which have not served and cannot serve the development of socialist construction and which have a negative influence on the party's prestige among the population.

The first working team, in materials which it prepared, proposed that there be maintained a classic, Leninist formula concerning the leading role of the party in our political life. We consider the discussion of this issue to be one of the main tasks of the ninth congress.

The work of the first working team is aimed at one paramount goal: to formulate changes and amendments of the party statute so that it should clearly reflect the Marxist-Leninist character of our party and so that internal party democracy based on Leninist principles should be ensured.

Olszowski Addresses Commission

LD162128 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Excerpts] Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, today chaired the fourth plenary session of the Congress Commission.

At the conclusion of the discussion, Stefan Olszowski, member of the Politburo and Central Committee secretary, spoke. He is directing the work of the Secretariat of the Congress Commission.

He reported on the current state of work on the draft program provisions for discussion before the ninth party congress.

The provisions of the program were appraised critically, sometimes very critically. The opinion prevails that the present shape of program provisions was favored by the majority of party organizations, although not every organization will find its own formulations in the document.

Stefan Olszowski also expressed the view that the final draft of the provisions will be born after the 10th Central Committee Plenum.

Kania Sums Up 16 Apr Debates

LD162112 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Unattributed report]

[Excerpts] The main topic of today's plenary deliberations of the commission preparing the ningth extraordinary party congress was the discussion of the draft of the new PZPR statute prepared by the commission's first working team on the basis of materials put forward in various forms by voivodship congress commissions, individual party organizations and members. The Congress Commission Presidium and Secretariat met yesterday and as a result of those deliberations more amendments were introduced into the draft statute. Today's Congress Commission was opened by Stanislaw Kania and the introductory paper was read by Zdzislaw Kurowski, the chairman of the first working team.

The speech by Comrade Zdizislaw Kurowski was followed by a debate. Twenty-two speakers took the floor. In order to report the debate as succintly as possible I would like to say that its main theses are the democratization of intraparty life and its statutory guarantees, problems pertaining to party cohesion as well as a number of detailed but very essential solutions concerning the rapport between the elected party echelons and the established apparatus.

Some speakers also referred to the preamble to the statute, that is some kind of declaration which--in the view of some speakers--the statute ought to contain. This was a debate which examined concrete statutory solutions, and since many of them, both as regards the draft and as regards individual proposals, were suggested in many variants, it is difficult for me to go into details just now. The general tone of the speeches was that the draft statute, though it calls for a number of amendments, should be submitted to an all-party debate as soon as possible.

Summing up, Stanislaw Kania stressed that today's lively debate reflected not only the concern of the members of the commission for the best possible form of the statute, but that it was also evidence of the profound interest of the entire party, as well as the entire Polish community, in the document.

The discussion is taking place in an extraordinary climate, in a climate of fears for the future of the homeland. Preparations for the ninth party congress are proceeding at a time of great difficulties caused by a bad economic situation, and at the same time in conditions of serious dangers on the part of the forces of anarchy and also those hostile forces which hope to exploit the crises experiences by our country to alter the existing system.

That is why one of the fundamental issues is how in these difficult times the party can cope with its tasks ensuing from its practice of the leading role in building Poland's socialist future. The widening of democracy in the party must be accompanied by the closing of its ranks and rebuilding of forces. The party's uniform ideological complexion and its strength and ability to exert an influence on the entire community constitute the fundamental conditions for the discharge of this task, calling for--as literally termed by Stanislaw Kania--a titanic effort.

This is the foundation of the party's orientation on the political path for resolving the difficulties and getting out of the crisis and is the foundation of everything being done by our own efforts. Should we fail to do so, even the best program will remain only an entry on the part of its originators. Let us stress yet again that the fundamental issue is the ideological uniformity of the party. With this is connected the fact that everything that concerns the party must be clear.

[Words indistinct] most of speeches in today's discussion. Of fundamental importance for the everyday activity of the party, both now and in the future, is the clear definition of the terms of reference of the supreme party authorities, the Central Committee, the Politburo, the Central Committee Secretariat and the first secretary. Stanislaw Kania said that the statute should define more unequivocally the powers and their limitations, since excessive powers constitute a great danger, particularly at the top level.

Among many issues dealt with by Stanislaw Kania in his summing up I would like to mention also a proposal concerning the party electoral principles, that is the definition of the number of terms of office allowed to be served in the authorities. Here a rigorous rotation system is suggested for the first secretaries of party committees, from the Central Committee down to works and parish committees, but a limited rotation as regards the secretaries of basic party organizations and branch party organizations.

I have not enough time to report more amply on the debates held today and, to conclude, I would like to say only that one of the fundamental conclusions was the statement that a deep democracy in the party must be linked with democratic centralism, since this determines the ability to mobilize all party forces around one program.

More on Kania Remarks

LD162136 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Excerpts] The fourth plenary session of the Congress Commission has taken place with Stanislaw Kania in the chair. The main object of the session was to discuss the draft amendments to the PZPR statute.

Stanislaw Kania spoke at the conclusion of the Congress Commission session. He drew attention to the fact that the discussion on the PZPR statute is taking place in an exceptional situation, in conditions of sharp crisis, and in a climate of great anxiety over the future of the country.

We are implementing, he stated, the line of socialist renewal outlined at the Sixth and the Seventh Central Committee Plenums. But we are working in conditions of great difficulties, especially economic difficulties, which are being increasingly experienced by people. We are also working in conditions of threats from the forces of anarchy and of determined enemies of renewal.

The first secretary expressed his views on detailed, concrete proposals put forward during the session and in earlier discussions and consultations concerning amendments and additions to the PZPR statute. He said that there exits a great need within the party for the simultaneous functioning of deep democratism and democratic centralism to facilitate the mobilization of the entire party around the program, around the line of counteracting the present difficulties, the line which creates conditions for preventing the occurrence of mistakes and distortions.

Further on Commission Plans

LD162246 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Excerpts] At the PZPR Central Committee the fourth session of the Congress Commission was held yesterday.

The first secretary of the party Central Committee discussed further plans of the Congress Commission. At its next meeting it will examine the 3-year plan for the socioeconomic stabilization of the country. The next Central Committee plenum before the end of the month will fix a specific date for the ninth party congress.

Stanislaw Kania conveyed his wishes to members of the Congress Commission in connection with the forthcoming May Day. The speaker stressed that this was to be a joint festival of the working class [and the party] and that the party expected a variety in the kinds of celebration starting with the traditional ones and including rallies, formal meetings and gatherings.

DISCUSSIONS AT PARTY PRECONGRESS MEETINGS VIEWED

LD161648 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The situation in Poland is calm. Normally in such a situation the interest of foreign agencies and the press with events in our country would decrease. Yet, all Western agencies in their news summary this morning carried news from Poland as the number one item--mainly reports on the preparations for the ninth extraordinary congress of the party. There were reports on the session of the Presidium and the Secretariat of the Congress Commission and on the precongress party forum in Torun.

For all foreign observers it is obvious that processes now in progress in the PZPR constitute the decisive factor of socialist renewal in our country.

During the session of the Presidium and the Secretariat of the Congress Commission, in particular, the drafts of program premises and statute amendments were discussed. It was said, among other things, that the remarks formulated on this subject by various organizations and voivodship precongress teams emphasized internal party democracy, the precise definition of the concepts of democratic centralism and the leading role of the party, the institutional and factual strengthening of internal party criticism and widening the role of the party auditing and party control commissions.

The participants in the Torun forum pointed to similar issues and spoke very critically indeed on the election regulations which were hitherto enforced and on the system of information channels. They stressed the importance of constant cooperation of among party organizations on a so-called countrywide cross-section basis [w tak zwanym prezekroju terenowym] that is independent from the existing perpendicular structure.

In the debate currently going on in the party, of which the Torun meeting was a good example, various opinions are presented which often are contradictory to each other. There is no unanimity and lack of criticism as regards the resolutions and decisions of higher party leadership in this debate but at the same time there is a trend towards unity and a common program.

Unanimity--no. Unity--yes. This slogan-like statement predominates at all party precongress meetings. It also predominated at the 4th session of the Congress Commission held today, which was chaired by Stanislaw Kania.

GRABSKI ADDRESSES KONIN INDUSTRIAL PARTY AKTIVS

AU161326 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Apr 81 pp 1, 2

[PAP report: "Aktivs' Session Before Ninth Congress--The Party Is Able To Get the Country Out of its Crisis"]

[Text] Preparations for the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress are the main subject of the sessions held by voivodship party level aktivs. The sessions are attended by representatives of the party leadership and Central Committee members. At the same time, the accountability and election campaign is continuing in party organizations and party levels.

If General Jaruzelski can see a light at the end of the tunnel, then we, party members, can floodlight that tunnel and the party leadership must take us through it efficiently and safely. That statement made by Jerzy Chmielewski from the Konin aluminum mill reflects in the best manner the substance and tenor of the discussion at the session of the party aktivs of the largest industrial enterprises in Konin Voivodship. The session was attended by Tadeusz Grabski.

The session asserted that with the help of the mass of its members the party is able to get the country out of its crisis, but that it must be done step by step, resolutely, calmly, through discussions, through implementing social accords and openly. The sessions stressed that the so-called party base is disturbed by the continued practice of supplying late and incomplete information on the country's current events. The Politburo must not treat us as children who cannot be told everything, the session asserted. Such information policy not only fails to "bridge the gap" between party members and party leadership but helps extend that gap. Politburo members should hold regular factory meetings with workers, the session demanded.

If the party wants to play its leading role effectively it must not commit the errors of the previous period. Nonparty people are watching party activities with enormous interest. These activities are criticized by all the people, Jerzy Ciupa, first secretary of the PZPR plant committee in the Korund plant in Kolo, said.

The session criticized the Politburo's evaluation of the Bydgoszcz events and said that the militia and the security service fulfill important social duties. That is why they must not be alienated from the nation as a result of unconsidered decisions.

Replying to a number of questions, T. Grabski referred to the ninth plenum discussion and resolution and stressed that the plenum's party-like and polemical discussion once again affirmed the steadfastness of the line of accord and dialogue with society and of the principle that conflicts should be solved by political means.

He said that every party echelon and level should take into account the complicated character of the political and party situation. We need prudence and united activity, which should not be confused with the mere appearances of the unity of thinking--appearances for which we are now paying such a high price. At the moment we have many initiatives, much solicitude for the party and much courage in discussion. What matters is for such attitudes to be demonstrated both when criticizing the evil "at the top" and when addressing one's own comrades and viewing whatever party organizations are doing to overcome the crisis. When economic difficulties become worse from month to month, prudence, calm and a sense of responsibility are what matter most, T. Grabski said.

Lech Ciupa, first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Konin, chaired the session.

WASZCUK ATTENDS CINEMATOGRAPHERS MEETING

LD161432 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Text] A party conference of filmmakers took place at the party's Central Committee yesterday. Jerzy Waszcuk, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, took part. It was stated that the party respects the right of creators of cinematography to have autonomy and to be self-governing, and supports their efforts aimed at reforming obsolete or faulty structures in the organizational and economic sphere. It was acknowledged that conditions have now become ripe for a thoroughgoing reform in this field to begin. Attendion was drawn to the need to maintain movie production for the cinema and television at an unchanged level. At the same time, it was said that prospects for importing movies from Western countries were poor, due to the shortage of hard currency.

Eugeniusz Mielcarek, deputy minister of culture and art, spoke, among other things, about the need to ensure that directors who had not joined the newly created film-making teams should benefit from appropriate conditions for creative activities.

PZPR ACTIVIST ANALYZES CAUSES FOR CURRENT CRISIS

AU161323 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11-12 Apr 81 p 8

[Article by Wladyslaw Kuszyk, activist of the Polish Communist Party, the Polish Workers Party, the PZPR, the trade union movement and deputy to the National People's Council and the Sejm of the fourth and fifth terms: "About Some Problems of the Present Crisis--Above Party, Class and People"--first installment--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Excerpts] What are the sources of the present crisis? The price hikes initiated by a former premier was only an immediate cause--a trigger--of the great strike actions.

IN THE PAST DECADE MANY "ERRORS AND DISTORTIONS" WERE PRODUCED IN THE SPHERE OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT BUT IT WOULD BE UNJUST TO BLAME ONLY THE SEVENTIES FOR OUR GREAT CRISIS, THE SOURCES OF WHICH DATE MUCH FURTHER BACK IN TIME. THEY HAVE BEEN IN EVIDENCE DURING THE PAST 35 YEARS.

In my view, one extremely important cause was the superficial, nay, primitive settling of accounts with the "personality cult," which had been artificially grafted on the Polish workers class and which assumed the form of caricature--of a malicious tumor--from the very beginning.

THE PERSONALITY CULT INTRODUCED INTO POLISH POLITICAL LIFE FEATURES OF AUTOCRACY AND ELEMENTS OF TOTAL LEADERSHIP, WHICH WAS REGARDED AS A SUPERNATURAL FORCE THAT WAS BESTOWED ON AN INDIVIDUAL BY NATURE OR BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE. THESE FEATURES AND ELEMENTS ARE ALIEN TO POLISH DEMOCRATIC TRADITIONS.

WHEN UNMASKED, THE IDEOLOGY OF THE PERSONALITY CULT SHOWS THE OBVIOUS ABSENCE OF TRUST IN THE MASSES, WHICH ARE REGARDED AS BACKWARD AND UNREASONABLE AND AS NOT KNOWING WHAT THEY WANT. "LEADERS," INDIVIDUALS OF "GENIUS" AND "GENIUSES OF MANKIND" HAVE A BETTER, DEEPER AND MORE FARSIGHTED KNOWLEDGE OF WHAT THE MASSES WANT. IF THE MASSES GRUMBLE AND DISCLOSE THEIR WISHES OR VIEWS, ONE CAN IGNORE AND DISDAIN SUCH DISCLOSURES BECAUSE THE TRUTH IS IN LEADERS--IN THEIR "GENIUS." IF THE MASSES REBEL, THEN THEY ARE LIKE SILLY CHILDREN WHO SHOULD BE REBUKED AND THE REBELLION SHOULD BE SMOTHERED BY ARMS.

It was no accident that in 1956 the premier ranted in the face of many thousands of workers gathered in Poznan: "We will cut off every hand that is raised against us." It was true that the "great" and the "genius-like" one was no longer alive [probable reference to Stalin], but the climate for producing new "genuises" was still there because the system remained inviolate.

Fortunately, the personality cult in our country began to develop late and its development was incomplete. THE PERSONALITY CULT STRUCK ROOTS INTO POLISH SOIL, FOLLOWING THE 1948 UNIFICATION OF TWO WORKERS PARTIES. BEFORE THAT UNIFICATION, WHEN IT WAS NECESSARY TO WIN THE INFLUENCE AND SUPPORT OF THE WORKING MASSES, ESPECIALLY OF THE MASSES OF NONPARTY PEOPLE, THERE WAS NO PLACE FOR DEVELOPING PERSONALITY CULT.

THE SUCCESS OF UNIFICATION PRODUCED A STATE OF INTOXICATION AND TURNED THE HEADS OF MOST PEOPLE IN THE APPARATUS OF THE FORMER POLISH WORKERS PARTY AT VARIOUS PARTY LEVELS, INCLUDING THE PARTY LEADERSHIP. WHY SHOULD ONE WORK AMONG THE MASSES, STRIVE FOR THEIR SUPPORT AND TAKE NOTE OF THEIR OPINIONS IF UNIFICATION PRODUCED A SINGLE PARTY? ONE DOES NOT HAVE TO SHARE POWER WITH ANYONE AND ONE IS FULLY IN CHARGE OF THE STATE APPARATUS, PROSECUTING AND JUDICIAL BODIES, INTERNAL SERVICE BODIES, ARMED FORCES, THE EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSION AND SO ON. LET US RECALL THAT SCANDAL OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE SO-CALLED RIGHTIST-NATIONALIST DEVIATION--A SCANDAL THAT HUMILIATED US INTERNATIONALLY. LET US RECALL MANY OTHER LESSER BUT SO PAINFUL SCANDALS INVOLVING VIOLATIONS OF THE RULE OF LAW.

The unified party and its new levels--now uniform--became the sole, total employer. They gave posts and they took away posts. In factories, party committees gave jobs and took away jobs. Those evil methods were most obvious and most harmful in the trade unions.

A straitjacket was imposed on thinking and on openly professing one's thoughts. Only "leaders" could think without a straitjacket, but all the others were allowed to repeat without a straitjacket only what the "leaders" had said. There is no need to prove what destruction that wrought in party propaganda as a whole and how that propaganda was divested of the living content of humanity.

The party apparatus changed from a servant vis-a-vis elected bodies into a superior force vis-a-vis those bodies.

THE BASIC QUESTION: HOW TO GOVERN--WITH THE PARTY OR ABOVE THE PARTY, WITH THE CLASS OR ABOVE THE CLASS, WITH THE PEOPLE OR ABOVE THE PEOPLE?--WAS SETTLED LIKE THIS: ABOVE THE PARTY, ABOVE THE CLASS, ABOVE THE PEOPLE. THERE WAS NO OTHER CHOICE IN A SYSTEM BASED ON THE PERSONALITY CULT.

That deformation of conditions in the party and the state went hand in hand with manifestations of the special consolidation of the forces of order and security: The militia, the internal services and the Armed Forces. Not only under Polish conditions, but under conditions of building socialism in every country, the workers class is bound to become sensitive to such manifestations.

AS A RULE, SUCH PROCESSES GO HAND IN HAND WITH THE PROCESS BY WHICH THE PARTY APPARATUS AND THE STATE APPARATUS BECOME MERGED. PARTY FUNCTIONS ARE COMBINED WITH STATE FUNCTIONS. THIS RESULTS IN THE STATE APPARATUS' INEVITABLE IMMUNITY FROM RESPONSIBILITY FOR ITS ACTIVITIES IN ADMINISTRATION, ECONOMY, SELF-MANAGEMENT AND SO ON. IN SUCH A SITUATION STATE APPARATUS FUNCTIONARIES ARE ONLY TOO KEEN TO HIDE BEHIND THE DECISIONS MADE BY VARIOUS PARTY LEVELS OR PARTY FUNCTIONARIES, IN ORDER TO DIVEST THEMSELVES OF LEGAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR BAD OR ERRONEOUS ACTIVITY IN THE STATE APPARATUS. SUCH A RENUNCIATION OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR ACTIVITIES IN THE STATE APPARATUS INEVITABLY GOES HAND IN HAND WITH ALIENATION OF THE STATE AUTHORITIES AND THE PARTY LEVELS' AUTHORITIES FROM THEIR OWN CLASS, OR ELSE THE CLASS NATURE OF POWER BECOMES EFFACED.

JOURNALIST REBUTS STAREWICZ ARTICLE IN TRYBUNA LUDU

AU161455 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Apr 81 p 4

[Stanislaw Albinowski article: "A Surprising Rebuttal"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] TRYBUNA LUDU dated 21-22 March 1981 published a letter by Comrade Artur Starewicz who, in deprecating an imputation made by Bronislaw Syzdek, stated: "...In the press bureau, I did not represent the 'old dogmatic schemes and habits.'" That statement applied to the period after 1956, when Comrade Starewicz was chief of the PZPR Central Committee press bureau (from 1963 to the middle of 1971 he was Central Committee secretary, and until September 1968 he was also in charge of the press). In reference to that statement I would like to quote some facts known to me from my own experience.

From the middle of 1958 to 1962, I was on the staff of the economic section of the AGENCJA ROBOTNICZA [Workers Agency] editorial board covering, for its information services, primarily the local party press. On 30 Septmeber 1958 AGENCJA ROBOTNICZA published in its bulletin my article entitled "Reflections on Living Standards" hinting at a significant price increase and declining real wages in the first half of 1958. At the same time, in the article I warned of the danger of inflation arising from the nominal wage increase significantly exceeding the increase in labor productivity.

On 2 October 1958, in an unusually short time, the article was published in SZTANDAR MLODYCH, in TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Katowice (and also probably in the Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA, but I am not quite certain of that because I was unable to find that press cutting in my files). I know that several voivodship-level party papers intended to publish the article on the next day. However, they failed to do that because on 2 October 1958 in the afternoon a telex message was received--also by the AGENCJA ROBOTNICZA editorial board--reading as follows (I quote from a typed copy because photocopying equipment at that time was still unavailable here):

"TO PARTY AND GENERAL-PUBLIC PRESS EDITORS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE AND WARSAW AND TO THE POLISH RADIO BROADCASTING BOARD.

"ALBINOWSKI'S ARTICLE 'REFLECTIONS ON LIVING STANDARDS,' PUBLISHED IN THE AGENCJA ROBOTNICZA BULLETIN ON THE SHAPING OF REAL WAGES, IS GROSSLY ERRONEOUS BOTH IN ITS SUBSTANCE AND IN POLITICAL INTERPRETATION.

"THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE WILL PUBLISH A REBUTTAL ON THIS SUBJECT.

"THE EDITORS WHO HAVE PUBLISHED THAT ARTICLE MANIFESTED A LACK OF RESPONSIBILITY AND EXTENSIVE LIGHTHEADEDNESS.

"IN CONNECTION WITH THAT, THE BUREAU ADVISES:

"1. TO ABSTAIN FROM REPRINTING THAT ARTICLE ANYWHERE;

"2. ALL PUBLICATIONS THAT PUBLISHED ALBINOWSKI'S ARTICLE SHOULD PUBLISH, IN AN ANALOGOUS PLACE AND IN AN ANALOGOUS TYPE, THE STATEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE, WHICH WILL PROBABLY BE SENT TODAY.

"IT IS TO BE KEPT IN MIND THAT ARTICLES ABOUT THE SHAPING OF THE REAL VALUE OF THE POPULATION'S WAGES AND INCOMES MUST NOT BE WRITTEN BY INDIVIDUAL EDITORIAL BOARDS OR AGENCIES, BECAUSE THEY REQUIRE DEEP RESEARCH AND ECONOMIC ANALYSIS, AND EDITORIAL BOARDS DO NOT POSSESS MATERIALS NECESSARY FOR THAT PURPOSE. ARTICLES ON THAT SUBJECT MUST ONLY BE BASED ON OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS, GOVERNMENT STATEMENTS OR PARTY DOCUMENTS.

"THE PUBLICATION OF ARTICLES SUCH AS THAT BY ALBINOWSKI UNDERMINES CONFIDENCE IN STATISTICS, CAUSES CONFUSION IN PROBLEMS OF ENORMOUS POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE AND RENDERS MORE DIFFICULT THE APPROPRIATE INTERPRETATION OF THE ISSUE, WHICH WAS INTENDED IN PARTY DOCUMENTS.

[SIGNED] "A. STAREWICZ, THE PRESS BUREAU

"WARSAW, 2 OCTOBER 1958"

Before telling what happened then, let me add an explanatory remark: Certainly, that article must have been passed for print by the press control office. While doing that, the office did not pass for publication and retained two diagrams showing the decline in real wages. Moreover, it was obvious that my calculations were only and exclusively based on data published by the Central Statistical Office.

But what happened then?

On the same day, 2 October, we were sitting in the editorial office until late at night, waiting for the rebuttal by the chairman of the Central Statistical Office. However, that rebuttal did not come either that night, the next day, or any other day.

Instead, the press bureau formed a special commission composed of representatives of the Central Statistical Office, the Trade Unions Central Council, the Planning Commission and the state commission for wages. That special commission very soon made an extensive report intending to demolish my conclusions and proposals. Undated and bearing the mark "1186/BPR/58," it implied that the special commission did not include a representative of the Economic Council of the Council of Ministers. I replied to the report, denying, point by point, all the reproaches and accusations contained in it. My reply, made in a firm and sharp tone, was left disregarded.

Instead, personal reprisals followed. As far as I am concerned, they were rather mild only owing to the posture taken by Comrade Jacek Groszkiewicz, AGENCJA ROBOTNICZA chief editor, who averted my dismissal from the job and only "sentenced" me to the use of a pen name in order "not to provoke." Thus for some time I used the pen name "Albin Stanislawski,' and that can be found, among other things, in issues of ZYCIE GOSPODARSKIE from that period.

Certainly, my "case" was only a "peanut" compared with the other ones. Nonetheless, the quoted text of Artur Starewicz's telex message shows better than anything what schemes and habits the then press bureau chief followed and how he muzzled the press on his own initiative.

That entire problem has a much wider and more topical aspect. Artur Starewicz recently published in KULTURA an article examining the sources of the mistakes and deformation in party activity. It would have been a very useful article if it did not arouse indignation, because the author wrote it in such a way as if he had never had anything to do with all that.

Nobody denies you, Comrade Starewicz, the right to publish such dissertations but under one single condition: that you first of all specify your own responsibility for and your role in creating all that you are now so sharply criticizing. You will not be able to escape with one sentence stating that principle in general terms. The reader will not accept such a posture and I doubt if the party would accept it.

Warsaw, 23 March 1981

GDANSK SETS UP TEAM TO COUNTER SPECULATION

LD161952 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Text] The mayor of Gdansk has set up a municipal team to deal with speculation. It comprises councillors; members of the municipal committee for social control; representatives of various trade unions, including Solidarity; functionaries of the prosecutor's office; functionaries of the state trade inspection bureau; and functionaries of the municipal office and the militia.

The team, which will cooperate with the community, plans to work on preventing and combating such phenomena as buying goods for resale, cheating on weight and quality, incorrect distribution, accumulating goods with a view to speculation, and private dealings in goods produced under state monopoly [alcohol and tobacco].

Centers for intervention and for information have been established with telephones, which can be contacted for immediate reports on speculation.

OIL PROCESSING DECREASES AT PLOCK REFINERY

LD170242 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Text] The monthly processing of petroleum to obtain fuel, oil and other products at the Plock petrochemical enterprise has recently decreased by some 200,000 tons.

The supplies of Soviet oil will be maintained at last year's level. However, due to the fact that oil imports from capitalist countries have been reduced, some of the oil from the Plock enterprise will be sent to Gdansk and to refineries in southern Poland. In all, this year's foreign supplies and Poland's own oil extraction will amount to 13.5 million tons.

SEJM DEPUTY ON MONETARY POLICY, MEDIA AT PLENUM

AU161714 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11-12 Apr 81 p 7

[PAP report on speech by Edmund Osmanczyk, nonparty Sejm deputy from Kedzierzyn-Kozle constituency, at the 10 April Sejm session in Warsaw--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] THIS IS THE FIRST TIME THAT WE HAVE A GOVERNMENT THAT CAN SEE BOTH THAT STABILIZATION MUST BEGIN WITH MONEY AND THAT IMMEDIATE STEPS MUST BE TAKEN IN THAT DIRECTION INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY, THE DEPUTY SAID. HOWEVER, THAT INVOLVES AN EXTENSIVE RANGE OF ISSUES WHICH CANNOT BE SETTLED WITHIN 90 DAYS.

IT WILL TAKE AT LEAST SEVERAL YEARS AND IN THAT PERIOD THE GOVERNMENT MUST BE MAXIMALLY ASSISTED BY ALL GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS, WITH THE SEJM AND STATE COUNCIL AT THE HEAD, BY ALL PUBLIC AKTIVS ORGANIZED IN THE PZPR, THE PARTIES, GROUPS, INDEPENDENT, BRANCH AND AUTONOMOUS WORKERS AND PEASANTS TRADE UNIONS, AND BY ALL OTHER ORGANIZATIONS IN OUR COUNTRY. AT THE SAME TIME, ALL OF US MUST BE AWARE THAT, IN ORDER TO STABILIZE THE ZLOTY WITHIN SEVERAL YEARS, WE WILL NOT ONLY HAVE TO TIGHTEN THE BELT OR GIVE UP MANY THINGS, BUT ALSO EXERT AN ENORMOUS SOCIAL AND FINANCIAL SELF-DISCIPLINE AND MANIFEST THE HIGHEST ABILITY TO WISELY SAVE POWER, RAW MATERIALS, AS WELL AS THE HEALTH AND NERVES OF EVERY CITIZEN IN OUR COUNTRY.

I regard as most difficult, E. Osmanczyk said, two fundamental needs socially conditioning the country's financial and economic stabilization: financial self-discipline and the ability to save. Nationwide social and financial self-discipline and the ability to save must be our civil virtues for the coming years because otherwise we will not overcome our economic maladies and will remain for a lengthy time--with all the denigrating consequences--the weakest link not only in the socialist community but also in the entire post-Helsinki Europe. If, within the next few years, we fail to build a Poland financially, economically and politically strong and reliable in the alliance with all neighbors, and with favorable agreements with many states all over the world, then we will miss the last chance offered to us in the 20th century to raise Poland at last to the point of lasting independence.

The program for building at last a Poland financially, economically and politically stable has become feasible--let us be fully aware of that--primarily as a result of the Gdansk agreements, which have also arisen from national needs. Our turning point ranks high in history and naturally enough it has resulted in tension, emotions, agitation, bitterness and impatient shouts. All that would have been very, very dangerous, and perhaps even tragic, if we had in the last decade an extremely useful, for our future, dialogue with the church. Notwithstanding our present critical attitude toward statesmen of that period, our historians and we ourselves are fully aware that without that dialogue conducted by Edward Gierek, Stanislaw Kania and Henryk Jablonski with the primate of Poland, and then also with the pope, we would additionally have today a controversy between the church and state. If the great program for Poland of a lasting stability is today feasible, Stefan Wyszynski and Karol Wojtyla, two Polish figures in church service, outstanding for their prudence and profound patriotism, greatly share in the credit for it. The program for a stable Poland has become feasible not only owing to the deep internal changes taking place in our society since the Gdansk agreement but also owing to the favorable attitude won in recent weeks by General Jaruzelski's government among our creditors.

Stabilization begins with money and the stability of the Polish zloty will be impossible without the daily civil self-education of the Poles in self-discipline and in the art of sensible saving. However, no magic incantations, appeals or beautiful phrases are of any help here. That can only be brought about by a social contract, guaranteed by the Sejm and the government, rooted in the spirit of the Gdansk agreements and in our national traditions, a lasting contract guaranteeing universal rights and obligations for the citizens of the socialist state. Work on that social contract calls for many legislative acts, beginning with an act on censorship and a lasting guarantee for private farmers and their right to possess the land and ending with the closure of cases which arose from the extreme forms of protest. In my opinion, E. Osmanczyk said, this will take a long time. To start with, the Sejm, the government and society must adopt a gentlemen's agreement which, as stabilization advances, will be strengthened with subsequent legal acts of social agreement. Saying the same thing in simpler terms: The farther stabilization advances, the more civil freedoms it brings.

The government should immediately set about eliminating the main source of confusion that has been going on too long. That source lies in the constant lack of public information. The point is simply to make the main media credible, the Polish Press Agency, Polish radio and television, providing them with the opportunity to give the most credible and quick information. Those are government institutions. Thus the government must guide them. As a senior Polish journalist, the deputy continued, I am able to professionally evaluate our main mass media. Well, that evaluation is rather bad. There is too much incomplete, disfigured, dressed up and late information, and for that reason information is upsetting, bothering and embittering the readers, listeners and viewers.

Unfortunately, the same adjectives also apply to some commentaries and reports. From the forties to the present day, the same malady has been affecting our journalism: that the most important and most sensitive instrument of the government's dialogue with the public has been and continues to be controlled, as a rule, by politicians without any journalistic experience or skill, who have been living for so many decades in the surprising confidence that they alone best know the line of advance traced by the party, that they alone firmly and in a principled manner can resolve for their party journalists, let alone the nonparty ones, what, when and in what shape things can be conveyed to the mass--in their opinion, politically still immature--of readers, listeners and viewers building socialism in this country for 36 years.

No sensible Pole wants to weaken the party since the destiny of the party has been for 35 years the destiny of Poland. But, since the Gdansk agreement, the destiny of Solidarity, the destiny of branch and autonomous, workers and farmers trade unions also identify with the destiny of Poland, and the common denominator in this case is our nation's base--the workers class in alliance with the peasantry. That workers class, who know what they want and are able to use language understandable to the people, must at long last be provided with conditions to reach an accord with their party, trade unions, government and Sejm. Each of those links, in the interests of the entire nation, must be strong and must possess a generally accepted moral prestige. That, in essence, and nothing else, is what we are now struggling for in the People's Republic. I consider it as the first condition for the country's stabilization, the deputy said, to at last provide conditions for the government's fruitful and frank dialogue with the public on the basis of quick and honest information. In the same way, I consider the second, equally important condition for it is to open the state administration to young cadres. Without thinking twice, we must as soon and as widely as possible open the administrative and social gates, from the commune to the capital city, to the most talented, most ambitious, the best qualified and most honest young Poles.

FRENCH, SOVIET, SFRY PRESS COMMENT ON SITUATION

LD162002 Warsaw PAP in English 2032 GMT 15 Apr 81

[Text] Warsaw, 15 Apr (PAP)--The newspaper LE MONDE [word indistinct] article about the Polish premier's appeal for a two-month respite from strikes that the decision taken by the Sejm on the issue means actually "a solemn recognition at the national level of the [word indistinct] week-old policy in favour of creating conditions indispensable for the establishment of cooperation with Solidarity."

Pointing out that the recent on-the-spot compromises have been the point of departure for expecting new conflicts, LE MONDE opines that the situation [words indistinct] at present and that "the steps taken by the authorities stem from their will to avoid future tensions." Concerning the government-Solidarity negotiations the paper points to certain dissonances in views of the two partners as to the place, mode and agenda of these negotiations which may "produce some clashes over the issue." Nonetheless, LE MONDE affirmed that "it is for the first time that the talks are being prepared in a climate free from any sort of showdown of power."

The Soviet paper LITERATURNAYA GAZETA emphasizes that "internal counter-revolution in Poland would have never assumed such a momentum had it not been for its external sponsors." The weekly points out that "in the light of the difficult economic situation those circles in the West which tie aid to abstention from applying counter measures against the anti-socialist groups do in fact interfere with Poland's internal affairs. Moreover, they take to defending extremists by pressing for their immunity and demanding special rights for them."

The daily TRUD wrote in its weekly close-up on international affairs that "Free Europe plays a special role in interfering with Poland's internal affairs." Official sources in the United States have confirmed that programmes beamed into Poland will still have priority because of a special demand for them, and added illegal press published in Poland will be used in preparing these programmes.

The Belgrade paper BORBA said that the pre-congress campaign has become an unprecedented event in the history of the Polish party. "The programme which is only just being created will be probably for the first time an expression and result of genuine consultations with the worker base."

WOJNA ASKS WEST TO HIGHLIGHT 'CONSTRUCTIVE' FACTORS

LD141545 Paris LE MONDE in French 11 Apr 81 p 2

[Article by PZPR Central Committee member Ryszard Wojna: "The West's Blurred Vision"]

[Text] Most observers of events in Poland generally agree that the Polish people are so concerned by what is happening in their country that they react very little to things which concern Poland outside the country's borders. In periods of acute domestic tensions and sudden changes, a people's attention is primarily concentrated on themselves.

That is why some Western journalists, who have come to Warsaw for the first time in the past few months, are surprised that the social atmosphere on the banks of the Vistula in no way reflects the excitement and fever which seizes all the big Western press agencies with every new wave of speculations on whether the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries see a threat to socialism in Poland and whether they are preparing for direct participation in the events in our country.

This does not mean that things which are written outside Poland's borders--to the East and the West--and which usually reach us on the wavelengths of dozens of radio stations which broadcast around 100 hours of Polish-language programs every day, do not constitute an important factor influencing the state of mind of a section of Polish society.

With their attention focused on what is happening in their country, Polish people listening to foreign stations find arguments and elements in these programs with which they form their own opinions without referring to foreign policy cadres. Some of my compatriots do not seem to notice the realities of the contemporary world and others deliberately do not want to do so. This is in no way a reproach, simply an observation.

Foreign opinions on Polish worries do not only reach us by radio. There have been "international press clubs" operating in Poland for decades--clubs in which the readers have at their disposal the most important newspapers from the East and the West, including LE MONDE, of course. Many Poles also subscribe individually to foreign newspapers.

I would like to make a few personal remarks on this subject. Generally speaking the Western bourgeois press--and a section of the communist press--is following the development of events in Poland with open sympathy for the movement which has christened itself the Independent and Self-Governing Trade Unions Solidarity.

In its structures Solidarity is a new phenomenon on the world level, not corresponding to previously known forms of trade union organization. In fact Solidarity is precisely a movement in the process of formation and therefore not yet homogeneous and still seeking definitive forms for its individuality.

Understandable Sympathy

The sympathy felt by most Western societies for Solidarity is understandable. It is part of the framework of confrontation shaking the world. The trade union movement has unveiled the mistakes made by the communist governments in Poland, has highlighted the working class deep and justified discontent which stems from the bad way in which the country has been administered. It is through this movement that pressures for fundamental reforms in the party and state are being expressed--reforms aimed at widely extending the sphere of individual freedoms and restoring the real meaning of socialist democracy.

At the same time, however, this move by the Poles to settle scores with their bad recent past has willy-nilly provided socialism's adversaries throughout the world with a series of arguments against socialism although, according to our way of looking at it, it would be more appropriate to talk not of socialism's mistakes but of the distortion of socialism. We are witnessing a tendency to generalize the mistakes made by the PZPR leadership and to make similar criticisms of the other socialist countries.

One of the reasons for feeling sympathy with Solidarity which should also be mentioned is the fact that this organization's heterogeneous political nature enables Western commentators to refer--according to their own requirements--to selected announcements and statements without taking into consideration how representative they are of the trade union. This is, therefore, an extremely convenient situation for professional anti-communists.

In principle this would be enough to make the socialist East observe events in Poland with undisguised anxiety.

In fact its anxiety has more serious political and economic grounds. With regard to economic matters it is amazing to see the lack of interest shown by Polish society in the damage--amounting not just to millions but to billions of dollars--which Poland's inability to keep its export and cooperation pledges is doing to the other socialist countries' economies.

Basically nothing has changed or will change in Poland's geographical and political foundations. Our neighboring countries were, are and will remain our closest economic partners. But we do not find this realistic attempt to remind the Poles of the facts in the messages which the West is addressing to our public opinion.

Responsible Political Force

The predominant feature of the bourgeois West's messages to Poland is preferences motivated by lack of sympathy for socialism--which is, moreover, understandable. By preference in this case I mean showing benevolence toward what seems to be directed toward greater agitation among public opinion against the party. Sometimes explicit advice is given on the line to be taken in this action. It would be possible to cite hundreds of examples from Radio Free Europe broadcasts.

Therefore it is highly significant that Western radio stations broadcasting in Polish very rarely, if ever, cite in their press reviews the opinions of West European newspapers or express very well-grounded fears concerning the possible direction in which events will develop in Poland and their negative consequences throughout our continent. No, they transmit to Poland almost exclusively words of encouragement and of support for the forces aiming to exacerbate the destabilization. It is logical for the anticommunist forces in the West--and they are certainly no invention by propaganda--to strive to portray the Polish situation in a spirit of hostility to socialism. Is it surprising, therefore, that RUDE PRAVO, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND and PRAVDA express deep concern about events in Poland and see in them direct action by antisocialist forces inspired from abroad?

The Poles, alas, already have two centuries of experience of attempts to exploit them as a tool against their Eastern neighbor. Obviously Polish--Russian history and its painful aftereffects have provided many reasons for this. The fact remains that in what the West has called the "Polish question" Poland has been regarded too much as the object rather than the subject. While the Poles stressed and still stress their role as subject, many forces in the West would like to regard us as a tool for anti-Soviet activities. We have paid the price for this more than once, but I am not complaining about it or seeking anyone's sympathy. This is the cruel truth and Polish policy must take it into account.

But what gives me cause to ponder is why so many Western circles have suddenly ceased to realize that the only responsible political force in Poland--despite the violent internal arguments over the choice of programs--invariably remains the PZPR.

It was the party which acted as the partner of the majority of ruling political forces in Western Europe in establishing a peaceful order on our continent following World War II and it invariably remains the responsible and credible partner even if essential changes are being made in its leadership.

It was represented and still represents the highest interests of the Polish people and nation, irrespective of the attitude of various circles toward socialism and toward Poland's place in the socialist community.

With a favorable reception to my appeal, I would nevertheless suggest to the spokesmen for Western opinion to devote less attention to the factors destabilizing the situation in this part of Europe and more to the factors that constitute the preconditions for new and constructive solutions.

Over the past few days the PZPR has been presenting them to society in the form of "theses" for its extraordinary congress. These theses are unquestionably more important to Poland's future than what the Western newspapers often print about our country on their front pages. They represent what is positive, constructive and new--which is Solidarity's contribution to Polish social and political life.

'POSITIVE ATTITUDE' OF POLAND'S CREDITORS NOTED

LD162320 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Text] Representatives of commercial banks and of Poland's other creditors have held another meeting in London. The discussion concentrated, among other things, on payments which are due at the end of June and on the need to ensure short-term credits for Poland. A positive attitude was taken toward the proposals for the solution of these two problems.

A committee has also been set up to examine the economic aspects of the situation in Poland in cooperation with Polish authorities.

Creditors Discuss Debts

LD171112 Warsaw PAP in English 0823 GMT 17 Apr 81

[Text] London, 16 Apr (PAP)--A delegation of the Polish Bank Handlowy met with representatives of nearly 400 Western banks in London today for a successive round of talks on rescheduling Poland's debts. At the current session the banks are to give Poland their decision whether they agree to defer the repayment of debts due in the second quarter of 1981. According to the French news agency AFP the banks are expected to grant Poland's request. The British and West German banks declared they were in principle ready to agree to the deferral in anticipation of a comprehensive solution of Poland's problems.

A communique issued for newsmen after long debates between Western bankers and delegates of Poland's Bank Handlowy held here today stated that some progress was achieved, both as concerns the current subject of talks and further actions of the banks.

The London meeting concentrated on the repayment of Polish debts due between the end of March and June this year as well as on the need to grant Poland short-term credits.

The communique indicated that the bankers' task force took a positive approach to these issues and would recommend appropriate steps to the respective national committees.

As concerns the debts due by the end of 1981, the task force decided to call up a small task team to prepare a draft protocol spelling out the terms of repayments. It has also set up a committee which would analyze in cooperation with Polish authorities the economic aspects of the situation in Poland. The next meeting will be held in the near future.

PREMIER VERDET RETURNS FROM VISITING UNITED KINGDOM

AU162006 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Text] Bucharest, 16 Apr (AGERPRES)--Romanian Prime Minister Ilie Verdet returned to Bucharest on April 16, in the evening, coming from Great Britain where he paid an official visit at the invitation of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

ANDREI ENDS VISIT TO TURKEY; COMMUNIQUE ISSUED

AU162012 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1905 GMT 16 Apr 81

["Romanian Foreign Minister Concludes Official Visit to Turkey"--AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 16 Apr (AGERPRES)--The communique on the official visit paid to Turkey by Stefan Andrei, Romanian minister of foreign affairs, over April 13-17, 1981, at the invitation of his Turkish opposite number, mentions that during the talks the sides examined the present stage and the perspectives of development of the relations between the two countries and exchanged opinions on major problems of the present international life. Analysing the unfolding of the bilateral relations the two ministers noted with satisfaction the positive evolution of the exchanges and cooperation between the two countries in recent years and reasserted the wish of the two countries to implement the agreements reached in point of developing and diversifying in the future the bilateral cooperation of multiple planes.

The sides noted with satisfaction that the volume of trade exchanges between the two countries went up in recent years and that favorable perspectives existed for their continuous development.

Also expressed was the resolve to expand the Romanian-Turkish cooperation in other domains as well in view of making full use of the conditions offered by the development of their economies and by their geographic proximity.

Within the exchange of views on the evolution of the relations among states in the world, the two foreign ministers stressed the need for most resolute action to be taken in order to prevent the current, most complex situation from worsening, for the settlement of the inter-state issues only by means of negotiations, for the continuation of the policy of detente and collaboration, for the observance of the independence of all states in the world. Emphsis was placed on the imperious demand today for the relations among all states to be grounded on fully equal rights, observance of national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, nonrecourse to force and threat with force.

The two foreign ministers paid special attention to the situation in Europe and stressed the need that everything possible be done for the establishment on the continent of a climate of confidence and cooperation and the coherent implementation of the Helsinki Act.

They stressed the priority importance of convenanting an agreement on the endorsement and carrying through of efficient measures on military disengagement and disarmament on the continent and, in this sense, they pointed to the importance of an agreement on convening a conference on trust and disarmament in Europe.

The parties pointed out that an important contribution to the cause of security and cooperation in Europe devolves to the strengthening of the collaboration, understanding, good neighborhood and peace in the Balkans.

Considering the results of the Athens and Ankara reunions on the multilateral collaboration among the states in the region, the two ministers declared for the continuation of these meetings with a view to singling out fresh possibilities for the expansion of the cooperation in the future in such domains as transportation, raw materials and energy.

Within the exchange of views on the conflicts existing in the world, the two ministers pointed to the necessity that all litigations among states, irrespective of their nature or character, of their complexness, be solved only by peaceful, negotiated means, by discussions among the parties concerned, in sense of understanding and receptiveness to the legitimate interests of either party, in a spirit of equal rights and mutual regard.

The two foreign ministers highlighted the necessity of definitive elimination of colonialism, of any policy of immixture, domination and dictate. In this sense, they declared for the observance of the Namibian people's right to national independence.

The two foreign ministers considered that the UN and the other bodies within the United Nations system have very important tasks in the democratization of the international relations and the settlement of the complex issues of contemporary world with the participation of all states.

The two ministers expressed their satisfaction at the cordial, sincere and overt atmosphere that prevailed during the interviews, at the fruitful results of the visit. They reiterated the two parties mutual wish to intensify the bilateral cooperation on multiple planes, highlighting in this context the importance the two countries attach to the periodical political consultations and to the exchange of visits at various levels.

Romanian Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei invited Foreign Minister Ilter Turkmen to pay an official visit to Romania. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

CEAUSESCU CONGRATULATES KIM IL-SONG ON BIRTHDAY

AU152030 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 15 Apr 81 p 5

[Message sent by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu to DPRK President Kim Il-song on his birth anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade Kim Il-song, secretary general of the Korean Workers Party [KWP] Central Committee, president of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea:

On behalf of the RCP Central Committee, of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the people and myself personally I take great pleasure in conveying to you, dear Comrade Kim Il-song, warm congratulations and best wishes for health and happiness on the occasion of your birthday.

I want to wish the friendly Korean people great successes, under your leadership, in implementing the Sixth KWP Congress decisions and in fulfilling their great national aspiration: peaceful and independent reunification of their fatherland.

I want to reassert our determination to further develop the relations of friendship, solidarity and cooperation between our parties, countries and peoples in all areas, for our mutual benefit and in the interests of the general cause of international socialism, peace and cooperation.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

OFFICIALS CONTINUE TO ANALYZE KOSOVO UNREST

SAWPY Presidium

AU161604 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Drago Tankosic report]

[Text] At its session today, the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium adopted the proposed draft program of work and forms of activity of the federal conference and its organs for this year. It was pointed out at the session that the Socialist Alliance faces important tasks in the spheres of economic stabilization, the national equality of peoples and nationalities, the further development of self-management and a broader political engagement among the masses. Drago Tankosic reports on the session:

Economic stabilization is a particularly important sphere of activity of the Socialist Alliance. In the past period the Socialist Alliance has participated in dealing with those problems which most directly affect the living conditions of citizens, that is, the problems of supply, prices, standard of living, housing, employment and social security. However, as Istvan Rajcan, secretary of the federal conference, said in his introductory report at the session, the Socialist Alliance has not always succeeded in reacting in good time to the most important current problems, especially in connection with uncontrolled price increases. For that reason, it is necessary to strengthen the Socialist Alliance's action capability as a condition for the breadth of its work and for strengthening its role as a front. Continuing his report, Rajcan spoke on the recent events in Kosovo. Our entire community and all its peoples and nationalities reacted to the counterrevolutionary actions of hostile elements in Kosovo with concern but, at the same time, also with a great determination not to deviate from Tito's road of socialist self-managing construction and energetically to defend the unity, stability and territorial integrity of Yugoslavia, Rajcan added.

During the discussion at the session, Mihailo Zvicer said a struggle for stabilization, the standard of living, labor productivity and spring sowing is taking place in Kosovo simultaneously with the current problems of the struggle against nationalism and irredentism. Jan Sirka and Aleksandar Bakocevic pointed out that our domestic and foreign policies demand a more aggressive political information action abroad, and Kolj Siroka spoke on the activities of the information media in Albania. In this connection he especially called attention to the tendentious writing by the newspaper BASHKIMI on the census. However, Siroka added, it is known that under our Constitution and laws the orientations of all peoples and nationalities are respected.

Zoran Polic, Filip Ognjenovic, Milan Rakas, Zora Tomic and Todo Kurtovic also spoke during the discussion.

The federal conference Presidium also adopted the program of the Socialist Alliance's international activities for this year. Zivan Vasiljevic spoke on that program. This Presidium further appointed members of the organization committee for the roundtable discussion forum on "nonalignment in the eighties." Milos Minic, president of the Federal Social Council for International Relations, was appointed president of the committee. A report on the preparations for the third congress of self-managers was also submitted at the session.

More on SAWPY Presidium

LD170910 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2108 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Apr (TANJUG)--The Presidency of the Socialist Alliance of the working people of Yugoslavia today described the recent events in the Province of Kosovo as an "organized, counterrevolutionary and nationalist attack on the achievements of the Yugoslav revolution."

At today's session the leadership of this socio-political organization with 13 million members, secretary of the Socialist Alliance Presidency Istvan Rajcan stressed that life was rapidly becoming normal in the province and that the Socialist Alliance of Kosovo, with all its local organizations and sections, had launched a full-scale action.

The hostile activity in Kosovo, which had been prepared over a longer period has left marks on the consciousness of a number of people, especially young, in the province, Rajcan said. Hence the need for long, patient and persistent political activity, he stressed.

At the session, which put economic stabilization in the country as the Socialist Alliance's most important domain of activity, representative of the Socialist Alliance of Kosovo Mihailo Zvicer warned against malicious misinformation from various sources about the events in the province. Prominent political worker from Kosovo Shiroka said that another Albanian daily, "BASHKIMI," had recently slandered Yugoslavia. The chauvinism which appears in a nation does the most harm precisely to that nation, Shiroka said. Shiroka also stressed that Kosovo workers had been the most persistent in protecting law and order during the recent events in the province.

More of Dragosavac Speech

LD161735 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 15 Apr 81

[Text] Dr Dusan Dragosavac, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, this afternoon spoke to the political aktiv of the Elektroprivreda Kosova composite organization of associated labor in Obilic. He stressed the positive results achieved in work and production by the working people throughout Kosovo as well as by the Elektroprivreda collective, stressing that this is the best way to overcome the problems affecting our development and to prevent recurrences of the hostile activities which have taken place in Kosovo. Dr Dusan Dragosavac said the following in this regard:

[Begin recording] It goes without saying that we have had, are having and will have in the future various problems and difficulties. In regard to the country as a whole, we have had, are having and most likely will have some activity by the class enemy. Also, we have had, are having and, regrettably, will have hostile activity directed against our country from the outside. However, we have successfully overcome this so far, and we will also overcome it in the future by firmly adhering to our self-managing socialist course.

I would like to stress in regard to these events here that--let me put it this way--however unpleasant they are, however, harmful they may be to us in Kosovo, and to whatever extent they are reflected negatively in intranational relations in Yugoslavia as a whole, and though they will naturally harm us internationally, they are nevertheless not what some people try to depict them as, such as something which on its own threatens Yugoslavia's existence and makes the LCY and our other organized socialist forces waver on the firm domestic and international course which our party adopted under Comrade Tito's leadership. Consequently, we will successfully overcome all the problems.

Furthermore, no matter how successfully we develop in all spheres of economic, social, cultural and political life, new problems will arise which will have to be solved in Yugoslavia as a whole, in every one of its parts, in every basic organization of associated labor, in composite organizations, and so forth. Consequently, we must keep all these things in mind and prepare ourselves to solve these problems more successfully. In addition to these objective problems, there certainly have been and are subjective shortcomings in our organizations. They have existed and still exist here in concrete terms.

It is for this very reason [words indistinct], and because of these subjective shortcomings it was possible to have a crude manifestation of something which is completely reactionary, regressive and nationalist, of something that damages and undermines brotherhood, unity and intranational relations. We should learn a lesson from this so that things of this kind can be prevented in the future, and so that by means of action, work, work discipline and political activity we can overcome this negative aspect as quickly as possible. [Words indistinct] and the events which have taken place, and naturally go further than that and strengthen our socialist social relations and the brotherhood and unity among our peoples.

If the international situation were--how should I put it--much better, if there were no crisis in the world and if these rightwing forces were not consolidated, then many such phenomena would certainly be peripheral and there would be no need to attach such importance to them. However, given such an international situation as the present one, we see that they can cause serious damage. Consequently, the League of Communists must be sensitive in this respect.

Given this international situation and in view of our position and the balance of forces in the world, let me say that we must keep in mind the need to behave in a more responsible manner. First of all, we must be aware of the fact--and this is something of which all our neighbors must also be aware--that throughout history all the peoples who live in Yugoslavia and, in general, in the Balkans have been harmed whenever the big powers interfered and whenever the ruling circles were in the service of these big powers. The opposite is also true--that is, whenever throughout history the progressive forces succeeded in eliminating these various negative outside influences in this area, then these periods were significant and excellent moments throughout history and in particular throughout modern history. We must also be aware that thanks to our revolution and our struggle we foiled all those plans which relied on divisions in Yugoslavia, fomenting national hatred, and so forth. In this manner Yugoslavia has been, is and will continue to be--by developing its self-managing socialist system--a vital factor concerning relations both with our neighbors and in the world in general.

We cannot and will not allow anyone to make up our mind for us and in any possible way dictate border changes--territorial ones inside Yugoslavia--and even less so will we allow anyone from outside to do so, the same way that we do not entertain claims against our neighbors just because parts of our individual nations happen to live in some other area.

Also you know that there have been discussions [words indistinct] about the question of the developed and underdeveloped areas and [words indistinct] that no one who is serious in Yugoslavia calls into question the need to give assistance to Kosovo and not only that, but no one even calls into question the need to increase this assistance, which was then reflected in a concrete form in our decisions. The question always asked and the one that continues to be asked today is how to achieve this, how to pool the resources of associated labor all over Yugoslavia and including those on the developed-underdeveloped line. In this respect we are faced with major tasks. It is up to the communists of Kosovo to consolidate what is positive, the positive results, and at the same time to make the best use of those resources which are created here in Kosovo and those which come from the federation either through the fund or through the budget for other needs or by means of loans raised abroad through the efforts of the entire community.

However, in this situation at present we have come face to face--it is natural that this should happen and as communists we must oppose it--with the situation in which other environments do not react in a rational way but in an emotional way and often--if we allowed this to get out of hand--I would say in a nationalist manner, which is to say people react to one nationalism with another nationalism.

We must unmask this reactionary slogan, the same as we have unmasked [words indistinct] the slogans about greater Serbia, greater Croatia, greater Macedonia in the sense of their negative attitude to others. So now must we unmask the slogan about a greater Albania. Compared with big nations none of us is a big nation economically, numerically and so forth, if we compare ourselves with the biggest in the world, those that number hundreds of millions. However, the greatness of all of us and of every individual nation and nationality lies in the system which we are developing, in the relations which we are developing, in equality, in brotherhood and unity. That is what has given Socialist Yugoslavia and every one of its nations and nationalities a significance which far surpasses any of these formal economic, geographical, and other criteria.

It goes without saying that bearing in mind the lessons drawn from events like those here, we also will overcome them and emerge from them strengthened and further consolidate and develop the brotherhood and unity of our nations, consolidate and further develop self-management, solve various problems and increase Yugoslavia's prestige in the modern world. [end recording]

Stambolic Interview

AU160831 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Apr 81 p 7

[Unattributed report on interview granted by Petar Stambolic, member of the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium, to Savo Krzavac, editor of the newspaper KOMUNIST--date and place not given]

[Text] "We must never forget that the historical responsibility of the League of Communists for the development and the future of Tito's self-managing, socialist and nonaligned Yugoslavia has never ceased or diminished. That responsibility also determines the league's place and role in our society."

This was stated by Petar Stambolic, member of the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium, in an interview granted to the newspaper KOMUNIST. In his conversation with KOMUNIST editor Savo Krzavac, Stambolic stated his views on the current ideological, political and economic issues and, in this connection, on the role and tasks of the League of Communists. We publish excerpts from the interview, carried in today's issue of KOMUNIST.

Replying to a question on the role of the League of Communists as the leading and guiding ideological and political force, Stambolic said that the role is clear and has been determined by the LCY program. The SFRY Constitution and other important documents of the society and the party also deal with it.

Noting that economic stabilization is not only our primary economic, but also our primary ideological and political task now and in the future, Stambolic said that as early as at the 12th LCY Congress we should have clear answers to and views on many problems. We will also hear some of them at the forthcoming congresses of self-managers. We are concentrating all our forces on all of them already.

On Social Criticism and Dialogue

In the continuation of the interview Petar Stambolic answered a question on social criticism in our country, on dialogue and on comparing opinions. "To me social criticism is not some kind of a fashionable thing but an essential requirement of our self-managing society. Some articles that we are reading create the impression that we discovered criticism, democratic dialogue, confrontation of views and discussion only recently and yet we have been building a socialist and democratic society and developing social criticism from the very beginning.

At times the discussions on sharply opposing views and dialogue are approached from an elitist position and the dialogue is interpreted as a dialogue among some intellectuals and not as discussions on the essential issue of our life and work, the discussions which we must conduct in the basic organizations of the League of Communists, the organizations of associated labor, the delegate assemblies and everywhere else where work and creative activity are carried out and where political activity takes place.

"To us democracy is not a hollow phrase but an essential requirement of self-management. It is in this respect that it has become more topical just as the issue of the place and the method of political activity of the League of Communists has also become more topical. Democracy is necessary when the workers class becomes a subjective force with a decisive role in society. Then life and work are carried on in dialogue, in consultations and accords and in confrontation of views.

"The matter becomes more complicated whenever it is necessary to oppose any antiself-managing actions that are most often organized and deliberate. Naturally, it is necessary to know how to differentiate between antiself-managing activities and social criticism. It is necessary to separate real social criticism from carping, from the criticism of everything existing, criticism which only destroys but does not stimulate and does not open any new prospects. In some discussions during the dialogue it is possible to notice certain accents that express more a subjective attitude toward bourgeois democracy than advocacy of creative criticism based on the LCY program and policy.

"The other task, that is, the need for social criticism, is at times forgotten in the struggle against antiself-managing and hostile actions. This is the problem in the current situation. It is necessary to be resolute in relation to the opponents of self-management of all kinds but at the same time it is necessary persistently to continue to develop workers' democracy and thereby also social criticism. This is what the 11th LCY Congress was about and this is what is essential in it."

Continuity of Pressures and Hostile Activities

Appraising the intensified propaganda and other hostile activity against our country, Stambolic said among other things:

"We must view any such activity, either abroad or within the country, in a broader spectrum of time and ideology in order to be able to correctly define those whom we are encountering today. As a matter of fact, all this is a continuity of pressure and hostile activities which have lasted since the victory of the revolution or, I would even say, since 1941, that is, since the beginning of the uprising in Yugoslavia.

"We also know that during its entire postwar development our road of building socialism on the basis of self-management has developed between two basic systems of social order in the world: the capitalist system and the system of state socialism, the multiparty and the one-party systems. During that entire period Yugoslavia's social development has been constantly under the influence of the ideologies and practices of the systems which surround it. But, regardless of the strength of that influence and regardless of the crises provoked by external factors or internal contradictions, our system of socialist self-management has demonstrated its vitality and consistency, successfully overcoming the pressures from the 'left' or the right and constantly struggling on two fronts."

Who Is "Concerned" for Democracy in our Country?

"That is also how I view the activity of the groups or the individuals who try to initiate certain actions, more or less hostile by their character, against our system of socialist self-management," Stambolic continued.

"At one time they calmed down. But now they have probably concluded that the time has come for them to try to cause us harm and to destablilize our society. They are usually 'concerned' for democracy in our country. They 'worry' about our economic situation also. They lecture us on how we should find a way out of our difficulties and the like. There are various 'humanitarian' organizations and individuals in the world, including uninformed prominent people who join the campaign against us, who advocate freedom of action against our country's constitutional order. Our achievements in social development, in the emancipation of man and labor and in the policy of national equality are unimportant to many of them. They refuse to see that, just as they refuse to see what freedoms exist in their own countries. They fail to compare the rights and freedoms of workers and citizens in their own countries to those of our workers and citizens. Let their workers win the same rights as our workers enjoy and let us then talk about freedoms. They are concerned about a few professors in our country who, while leading a comfortable life without work, would like to legalize their action against this society. But they are not troubled by what is happening in Chile, El Salvador, Namibia and the Union of South Africa, where genocide is being committed against entire peoples, where the grossest acts of violence are taking place and where basic human rights are being violated. Naturally they also are not troubled by similar things in their own countries."

But as for the attacks on our system and the attempts to threaten the achievements of our revolutions won so far, we will not waver, Stambolic added. We will undertake those ideological-political and all other actions and measures that we consider the most appropriate and most effective in a given situation.

"No one can secure for himself an immunity and act against our social and constitutional order without consequences for himself. The Constitution and the laws are valid for all and they will be consistently implemented," Stambolic stated.

Character and Goal of the Hostile Action in Kosovo

Appraising what the enemies tried to accomplish in Kosovo, Petar Stambolic said:

"The character of the action and the goal which the enemies tried to achieve by provoking disorder in Kosovo have been determined and correctly appraised by the highest state and party forums of Yugoslavia, Serbia and Kosovo. What is involved here is hostility toward and a direct attack against Yugoslavia's integrity and against socialism, independence and the nonaligned policy of our country. An attempt was made to destroy brotherhood and unity, to create mistrust and to provoke a conflict among the province's nationalities. We know what that would mean; we know it on the basis of what these same enemies did in the last war, when in many parts of our country they turned the peoples against each other and provoked a fratricidal war. Yet despite that, the communist party headed by Tito was the only political force that succeeded in rallying under its flag all peoples and nationalities in their common struggle and in opening for them the prospects of their national and social liberation. We won and we have created a socialist and self-managing community of equal peoples and nationalities. And whoever touches it and whoever reaches for its territory must count on a resolute response and a response in which we will not hesitate in choosing the means to defend and protect what we have created so far. We have not forgotten Lenin's warning that the value of every revolution is only as great as its ability to preserve and develop the achievements which it has won. During more than three decades of our postwar development we have successfully confirmed that value of our revolution on several occasions. We will continue to do the same in the future."

Brotherhood and Unity are a Part of Our Life

"We all know very well what price we paid and what we had to do before the slogan of brotherhood and unity, which expressed the program of national equality, became a part of our life."

"We all also know that there can be no Yugoslavia without brotherhood and unity and without national equality, and for that reason we will not allow anyone to destroy that for which hundreds of thousands of fighters and revolutionaries of all our peoples and nationalities laid down their lives. We will not allow the shining achievement that forms the foundation on which we build all social and other relations among the peoples and nationalities of Socialist Yugoslavia to be endangered.

"For that reason I believe that we must strictly separate the action of the enemies in Kosovo from the real feeling of an enormous majority of the Albanian nationality in the province. The Albanians and other peoples and nationalities in Kosovo have demonstrated their true feelings, their orientation to socialism and self-management and to life in community and equality in Tito's Yugoslavia on several occasions during the entire period of postwar construction, as well as by condemning those hostile activities, which have nothing in common with an enormous majority of the province's working people and citizens.

"We certainly still have to analyze and draw the necessary lessons and thereby determine how it was possible that the enemy misled a certain number of uninformed young people, especially among the student and secondary school youth, and drew them into hostile actions with a few demagogic slogans.

"We must also be alert and resolutely respond to the reaction of any other nationalism that might--as we know from past experience--exploit these events and the provocations of the Albanian nationalists and irredentists to make its own appearance and to offer its own appraisal of the events and propose 'solutions' for the future. There are already such indications and we must not remain indifferent to them. The lessons from our past lead me to emphasize that precisely at this time," Petar Stambolic said in his KOMUNIST interview.

SUBNOR President

LD162216 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Text] Army Gen Kosta Nadj, president of the Federal Council of the Federation of Veterans' Associations of the War of National Liberation of Yugoslavia [SUBNOR], spoke in the Yugoslav People's Army club in Zagreb today to officers and the civilian personnel on duty in the Zagreb garrison. At the beginning of his speech, he also reported in brief on the recent enemy activities in Kosovo. Zlatko Kuretic reports:

[Kuretic] The greatness of our achievements under Tito's leadership, Nadj said, makes us dutybound to strive for further achievements and to promote creativity on Tito's path. However, it has often been said of late that in our country, with the exception of certain economic problems, everything is all right and that the political and security situation is good. In saying so we forgot Tito's words that the class enemy still exists and that, though defeated, it keeps reorganizing itself. It has been shown that our vigilance has grown slack, and that the exponents of counterrevolutionary ideological trends still exist in our country. The system of all-people's defense and social self-defense did not demonstrate its capacities and the internal enemy acted in direct collusion with the enemies of socialist self-management and nonaligned Yugoslavia abroad. Also, we must bear in mind that aggression need not start at the border, but can start in the country itself, in the form of a special war. Kosta Nadj then went on:

[Begin Nadj recording] The counterrevolutionary blow in Kosovo was aimed at undermining the fundamental gains of our revolution, at brotherhood and unity and thereby at all the socialist institutions of Tito's Yugoslavia. We may expect blows of this kind to be delivered elsewhere as well, differently carried out and differently organized, but always relying on external enemies. There still are Ustashi, as well as the Chetniks and the Ballisti. Only the revolution itself can defend the revolution.

This is why I have said so much today about the leading role of the League of Communists and about how its leading role is being achieved.

We must stress in this connection that to us communists a nationalist action stemming from a nation or a nationality has never, even in our thoughts, been a reason for identifying the people with its darkest renegades. The people are in favor of progress, democracy, and socialist self-management. This is proved by all our successes so far. It is important that we should constantly keep explaining to the people through their organizations what their own daily and long-term interests are, and then there will be no fear of the communist image remaining hidden or anonymous. Comrade Tito often talked to us about all this. All of his all-embracing achievements, which are our signposts, testify to this. [end recording]

[Kuretic] The president of the Federal Board of SUBOR of Yugoslavia stressed that from the day Comrade Tito assumed the leadership of our country's communist party he had repeatedly warned about the need to constantly guard and strengthen the brotherhood and unity and equality of the Yugoslav nations and nationalities. Later, in the days of the war of national liberation and the revolution, Tito laid the basic course of Yugoslavia's internal development and foreign policy. It is our duty to continue to guard this, Kosta Nadj said, and added:

[Begin Nadj recording] At the end I should like to address to you, comrades from our armed forces and our People's Army, a warm wish--I do not have to tell you this because wherever I go, and I often visit various structures throughout Yugoslavia, they ask me everywhere how the People's Army is, and whenever I reply that our People's Army, which was born from the ranks of the people, has remained the People's Army, that it always stands as the bulwark of defense of our League of Communists, that it will carry out Tito's work in a fitting manner through the whole of its activity, my words are always greeted with great applause and they are very happy to hear me say all this. [loud applause] [end recording]

Sukrija Address

AU161857 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Text] A meeting of the Prizren commune's students studying at the higher schools and faculties of the Kosovo University was held in Prizren today. Ali Sukrija, member of the Provincial Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Kosovo and the LCY Central Committee, spoke at the meeting on the immediate tasks of the working people, citizens and youth of all peoples and nationalities. He stressed the need for a more intensive engagement in fulfilling the tasks for further strengthening the brotherhood, unity and community of all peoples and nationalities, and in consistently implementing Comrade Tito's messages issued during his visit to Prizren 2 years ago. Mehmet Malici, president of the Federation of War Veterans of Kosovo; Sanije Hiseni, president of the Communal Conference Presidium of the Federation of Socialist Youth of Kosovo; and the commune's veterans of the national liberation war attended the meeting in Prizren.

BUDAPEST INTERVIEWS TANJUG OFFICIAL ON KOSOVO

LD161939 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2020 GMT 15 Apr 81

[Interview in the "10 Minutes of Foreign Politics" program with (Slavko Stanic), TANJUG deputy chief editor, conducted by Budapest radio reporter Peter Nyaradi--(Stanic) answers in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Excerpts] [Nyaradi] In recent days many, at times contradictory, reports have arrived from Kosovo, Yugoslavia's small southern province. Reporters have given accounts of demonstrations and violent clashes.

According to the official Belgrade report, 11 people lost their lives during the clashes between police and demonstrators. Why did these bloody incidents occur? There also have been nationalist manifestations here in the past. This can be explained not only by peculiar historical traditions, but also with the fact that Kosovo is Yugoslavia's most backward province; the living standard of the population here does not even approach half that of the more developed western provinces, Slovenia or Croatia.

In spite of this, few people up to this day supposed that the Albanians of Kosovo would consider neighboring Albania as a model, for living conditions there are hardly enviable even in the Balkans. So now what could have been the reason why the demonstrators marched with nationalist slogans in the province's capital, Pristina? The demonstrators, students for the most part, demanded that the province should gain the stature of a republic or, at least, should receive more support from the Yugoslav state federation. But there were also such slogans as Kosovo Should Become Independent, and Kosovo Should Break Away From Yugoslavia. Now that passions have subsided, how do people in the Yugoslav capital assess the incidents? This is the question I put first to (Slavko Stanic), deputy chief editor of the Yugoslav news agency, TANJUG.

[Answer] I think that I must first mention the heightened nationalism when I speak about the present series of demonstrations, the efforts for secession. Our policy on national minorities is built on the harmonization of interests of the individual nations and nationalities, on permanent and general tolerance. It is really not easy to realize this is a country of many nationalities, such as Yugoslavia, to say nothing of how long centuries-old nationality conflicts have predominated in this area.

[Question] But let us return to present events. Did not the fact that unemployment in this region is higher than anywhere in Yugoslavia play a certain role in the Kosovo demonstrations? That the standard of living is the lowest here? And in addition, this is where the consequences of the economic recession at the end of last year were felt the most.

[Answer] In our country the necessary methods exist for the population to express its dissatisfaction with the economic situation. For example, the workers can go on strike if they are not satisfied with anything. But this was not a strike--rather a demonstration. I do not claim that economic considerations were not behind the demonstrations, but first of all it is a question of nationalist groups trying to separate Kosovo from Yugoslavia.

[Question] Reports have even been spread abroad that in the hills armed groups have been formed and that they want to conduct a regular guerrilla action against the Yugoslav system.

[Answer] These reports have no foundation whatsoever. There are no guerrillas in the hills. On the other hand it is a fact that in some cases relatives of the murdered victims, according to local custom, pledge a vendetta, and at such times, also in accordance with traditional custom, they retire to a lonely spot and there they prepare for the vendetta. By now the situation has normalized in Pristina, the capital of the province, and also in other towns. People have returned to their work places and teaching continues also in the universities.

[Question] The Kosovo events also allude to the fact that last year's 40-percent inflation, strengthened by the nationalist tendencies, could have certain political consequences in Yugoslavia. What solutions are being tried now in Yugoslavia to stop inflation and to restore balance?

[Answer] It is well known that our country's present economic difficulties started back in 1979, when Yugoslavia's external economic conditions suddenly became unfavorable, and this caught the country unaware.

The biggest problem was where to find raw materials and energy sources, since the price of these things doubled, as it were, from one minute to the next. This, understandably, very seriously affected Yugoslavia's industry, which was thus itself forced to increase its prices. Afterward this process of price increases accelerated so much that the directors of the economy were forced to counter it. of course, one can understand the enterprises, too. They wanted to guarantee the pay rises for their workers by this method. But unfortunately they thereby only promoted inflation. In the meantime more and more credits had to be secured abroad, because the higher raw material prices had to be paid, just like foreign technology, which had also become more expensive. Last year the government also realized that this could not go on, and so a new economic program was worked out.

[Question] What is the essence of this program? By what methods do they hope to bring about that the indebted Yugoslav economy can once more be competitive on world markets, and that in order to do this it will have to reduce the domestic standard of living?

[Answer] Our main objective at present is economic stabilization. By this we mean that we must reduce inflation and our balance of payments must be balanced. This of course is not a short-term task. As a first step we reduced investment loans, because it is our opinion that one should rather complete the investments already begun, and that better use should be made of the existing ones. In addition we also reduced the social budget. We encourage enterprises to produce for the foreign market, above all for the markets of the capitalist countries, for it is also to them that the credits have to be repaid. For the time being we also have placed prices under control in order to curb inflation. One of our most important new measures is directed at reducing domestic raw materials consumption, and in this way not a penny more will have to be spent on such objectives than last year. We also will further develop the self-management system, because to date everybody has had too many possibilities for evading responsibilities, and so it is extremely difficult to control carrying out the tasks undertaken. Taking everything together, I may say that our major objective is that inflation should be lower this year than last year's 40 percent, and that the standard of living, which last year fell by about 10 percent, should remain at last year's level.

TANJUG CITES SOLIDARITY THESES ON POLISH CRISIS

LD161802 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1710 GMT 15 Apr 81

[Text] Warsaw, 15 Apr (TANJUG)--The independent and self-management Polish trade unions "Solidarity" consider themselves the principal of the process of reconstruction in Poland and urge all necessary sacrifices on the road toward the reconstruction. "Solidarity" will start its action from "the best peoples tradition, the ethic principles of Christianity, aspirations towards democracy and the socialist social [word indistinct]." This is stressed in the "theses" on "Solidarity's" (?action) published today in TRYBUNA LUDU.

"Solidarity's" first published ideological-program platform has five sections. Besides the ideological action platform, the theses analyse the causes of the crisis in Poland, set forth views on the economic system and "guarantees for the future" and discuss the trade union organization.

"Solidarity" considers that the "lack of democratic mechanisms in adopting decisions, the non-existence of responsibility in decision-making and the absence of principles of the changes in leading positions" are among the major causes for the current crisis in Poland. The trade unions have declared themselves for a reform of such a system. "Solidarity" also warns that the economic reform in Poland cannot achieve the hoped-for results unless a deep reform of the government system is carried out at the same time.

"Solidarity" (?urges all) planning to be [word indistinct] "strategic, and not operational socially-owned enterprises must become independent in setting down their respective production programs and production methods," the "theses" states.

In this context "Solidarity" urges the "establishment of authentic workers self-management."

The "theses" also demand that average take-home earnings be protected. An all-encompassing income tax system is demanded as well as the tax on luxury cars weekend houses and similar luxuries. The trade unions also urge the limiting of privileges enjoyed by the governing apparatus (apartments, office cars etc.). "Solidarity" also demands that the income and property of persons holding "positions in the government" be available for inspection.

"Solidarity" also urges "self-management in representative and social organizations," openness in work, a new election system for parliament members, changes in the system of judiciary and the strike as the means of protection of workers' rights.

BORBA RESPONDS TO ATTACKS FROM SRV PRESS

AU162037 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Apr 81 p 7

[V. Teslic commentary: "Tendentious Attack"]

[Text] The nonaligned policy of our country and its consistent insistence on the original principles of nonalignment and nonblock orientation, on independence and the struggle against all aspects of domination, interference and intervention from bloc or other positions, have gained Yugoslavia new and numerous friends all over the world, including countries in the Far East and Southeast Asia.

Asia is, after all, one of the home regions of nonalignment where traditions of coexistence, peaceful cooperation and noninterference and especially nonintervention are deep. It is no accident that bloc expansion and penetration have been prevented precisely in those regions, and some imposed bloc creations in the past fell apart very quickly as unnatural, alien and dangerous.

It was therefore inevitable that military interventions in Kampuchea and Afghanistan, a practice opposed to nonalignment, would be exposed to the sharpest criticism of almost all the nonaligned countries, including the ones closest to the regions of military interventions. This was fully manifested at the ministerial conference of the nonaligned countries recently held in New Delhi, where our country--consistent with its view and position--resolutely demanded respect for the independence of the traditionally nonaligned countries Kampuchea and Afghanistan.

Instead of learning a lesson from such a position of the nonaligned, Hanoi newspapers launched a very fierce harangue first against the Yugoslav press and its reports, and then more and more against Yugoslavia as a whole. Of course, Yugoslavia provided enough proof of its support to the liberation struggle of Vietnam, which is now also being questioned, and it also played a special role in meeting the request of the friendly country (including in its time the provisional Government of South Vietnam) for admission to the membership of the nonaligned countries.

The psychological and political pressure against our country is peculiar for that reason, and it is accompanied by the usual scenario according to which various Vietnamese attacks, fabrications and distortions of Yugoslav views are also carried by other media of the "socialist community" countries, assuming sometimes the form of an unbridled campaign.

Several articles in the Vietnamese press recently are designed to slander Yugoslav policy as a whole in addition to the usual formula of attacking our press.

The reason is our position that a withdrawal of foreign troops is necessary from Kampuchea and Afghanistan, from which conclusions are drawn to the effect that we "sold our soul to the devil" (who is said to reside in Beijing) or in the best case that we do not understand the principles of "internationalist assistance" or the "anti-imperialistic" approach to the liberation of other peoples.

What does one want to achieve with this campaign and whom and what is it supposed to serve?

These attacks have been intensified particularly after the nonaligned ministerial conference in New Delhi, where the attempt to legalize the military intervention in Kampuchea failed and where the majority of the nonaligned countries, consistent with their principles and policy, remained on the positions of denouncing interventions, of requesting the withdrawal of foreign troops and supporting the right of every people to decide by itself on its own fate.

The Yugoslav press is not and cannot be to blame for reporting objectively on the positions of the nonaligned countries or for reporting similar positions of the ASEAN countries in the immediate neighborhood of Indochina.

In other words, one cannot excuse and even less justify military interventions (temporary or permanent) by a country against another independent and sovereign state, socialist or not, by invoking special relationships or special interests of a country. This cannot be done under the pretext of "internationalism" or of "settling the affairs" of another country without being counterproductive and leading to an export of counterrevolution. The essence of nonalignment, after all, is a struggle against any hegemonism and interference, and it is activities from nonbloc positions in all spheres of international life.

MEETING HELD WITH ROMANIA ON BORDER TRADE

AU101816 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1735 GMT 10 Apr 81

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Apr (AGERPRES)--A meeting related to the questions of goods exchanges at the Romanian-Yugoslav frontier was held in Novi Sad. The Romanian delegation was headed by Dumitru Petrescu, first deputy minister of home trade, and the Yugoslav delegation by Svetozar Rakic, secretary for foreign economic relations, member of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina.

During the talks the results were highlighted scored in the consumer goods exchanges between the limitrophe counties of Romania and Yugoslav enterprises. The lists of goods were covenanted for exchanges at the frontier in 1981 and measures were set for the further development of those exchanges.

NEW BOOKS ON RELATIONS WITH BULGARIA PUBLISHED

AU161728 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Nenad Majojlovic report]

[Summary] "Recently, the Belgrade Narodna Knjiga publishing house published three new books: 'Aspects of the Macedonian Question' by Lazar Kolisevski, which was published jointly with the military publishing institute; 'The Bulgarian Workers Party and the Macedonian National Question' by Lazar Mojsov; and 'Views on Yugoslav-Bulgarian Relations' by Mihajlo Apostolski." In this connection, a press conference was held at the Belgrade International Press Center today which was attended by Aleksandar Grlickov, Risto Dzunov, Dane Petkovski, Ismail Bajra, Peko Dapcevic, Ivan Kukoc and a number of foreign and Yugoslav journalists. Nenad Manojlovic reports:

Speaking at the press conference, Prof Pero Damjanovic said that the publication of the three books in Serbo-Croatian "contributes to the community of all our peoples and nationalities. In their long struggle for their national freedom and economic equality, the Macedonian people, whose history fills us with admiration, have always been clearly oriented. They have made it clear to all by their struggle in the 19th and 20th centuries that they refuse to be manipulated in connection with that basic aspiration of theirs, Professor Damjanovic said. In the national liberation struggle and the revolution they proved and constantly continue to prove that they are in favor of the Yugoslav community and brotherhood, unity and equality. This is clearly shown by Lazar Kolisevski and his book 'Aspects of the Macedonian Question.'"

Academician Vlado Strugar spoke on Mihajlo Apostolski's book "Views on Yugoslav-Bulgarian Relations." He said that the book is "an act of defense of the national cause, that it is true and analytical" and as such "represents a great contribution to our culture and to Yugoslavism." Prof Radovan Radonjic highly appraised the quality of Lazar Mojsov's book "The Bulgarian Workers Party and the Macedonian National Question" and referred in this connection to the book's "basic framework, that is, the attempts to appropriate the Macedonian people in the past and during the period of Stalin's pressure against our country. Lazar Mojsov demonstrated, Radonjic pointed out, that these attempts failed because they were contrary to the aspirations of the Macedonian people.

"At this press conference BTA correspondent Gonev raised the question of the purpose of this press conference, in view of the intent to improve Yugoslav-Bulgarian relations: Is not the press conference contrary to the efforts of both sides in this sphere? The correspondent was told in answer that it has been a normal practice for a number of years to present important works to the public at the International Press Center, and that recalling the past and present problems can be a good way to overcome them. The correspondent was also reminded that at one time he himself advocated that individual past problems should be scientifically examined. Thus, in this respect, this press conference also certainly has its purpose.

CROATIAN TU FEDERATION DEBATES WORK STOPPAGES

LD161510 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1605 GMT 15 Apr 81

[Text] Zagreb, 15 Apr (TANJUG)--The trade union organizations and organs must be fully engaged in preventing and eliminating the possible causes of work stoppage. This was emphasized at today's meeting of the Commission for Self-Management and Political System of the Council of the Trade Union Federation of Croatia. Analysis of the phenomena of work stoppages has shown that they occur in environments where self-managing relations are undeveloped and and where the work of sociopolitical organizations is insufficient.

The Council of the Trade Union Federation of Croatia adopted conclusions on the work stoppages a year and a half ago and on the role and tasks of the trade unions at the time. The Commission for Self-Management and Political System has again placed this social phenomenon on the agenda following new data and experience.

According to the data, in the past 2 years there were a total of 83 registered work stoppages in the republic--31 in 1979, and 52 in 1980, while in the first 3 months this year there have been 20 registered work stoppages. The most frequent direct cause of stoppages is the dissatisfaction of workers with the distribution of personal incomes, while the real reasons are much deeper and emanate from the unsatisfactory economic situation in individual groups and organizations, insufficiently developed self-managing relations and the presence of antiself-managing convictions and behavior in these organizations, as well as from insufficiently developed class consciousness and self-managing consciousness of some workers, management and sociopolitical cadres and insufficient activity of the sociopolitical organizations.

Although the number of stoppages is negligible in relation to the number of organizations and employed workers in the republic, this phenomenon demands the special attention of the trade unions as the class organization of workers.

The commission members expressed the view that the question of responsibility of the trade unions in the struggle for eliminating the causes of work stoppages and for the solution of problems in a self-managing manner should be intensified.

FLEKOVIC ADDRESSES CROATIAN PROSECUTORS' MEETING

LD162140 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Apr 81

[Text] Petar Flekovic, president of the Executive Council of the Croatian Assembly, today addressed district and municipal prosecutors from Croatia who are meeting in Plitvice to discuss the tasks faced by the public prosecutor's offices in connection with carrying out the conclusions of the Croatian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium and the Croat Presidency on economic stabilization measures.

Tomislav Prpic reports:

After the district and municipal public prosecutors from the Socialist Republic of Croatia were greeted on behalf of the sociopolitical organizations of Lika by Ilija Djukic, president of the community of the municipalities of Lika, they were addressed by Petar Flekovic, president of the Executive Council of the Croatian Assembly, who spoke about topical economic and political issues in our country. The results which the working people of Yugoslavia are achieving in economic and political progress have always been a thorn in the side of the world's reactionary forces, Petar Flekovic said at the beginning of his speech, and the recent events in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo are the best illustration of the intentions of the remnants of the class enemy. The constant strengthening of the system of our associated labor, self-management and socialist construction are the most convincing reply to all the kinds of enemy, whom we have always energetically opposed, proving that Yugoslavia was and is firm in adhering to the program of the League of Communists and Comrade Tito.

Petar Flekovic then spoke about the results achieved in socioeconomic development. The last year of the past medium-term plan was marked by the beginning of a fierce battle to overcome the negative trends in our economic life, Flekovic said, and significant results have since been achieved, above all in reducing the high balance of payments deficit in our economic relations with foreign countries. Exports have increased, imports have decreased. The whole of society is faced with the task of consistently implementing the policy of stabilization and attaining the development defined in planning documents.

At the end of his speech, Petar Flekovic, president of the Executive Council of the Croatian Assembly, also pointed out the significant results achieved in its work by the prosecutors' organization by struggling against negative phenomena in society, such as irresponsibility, sloppiness, manifestations of all forms of crime, and struggle against the remnants of the class enemy.